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CV:

Kul Bhushan Mohtra was born on 9th Sep, 1957 in a village Amuwala in Kathua district.

Matric from BOSE, Jammu and Adeeb from AMU. Has been awarded Honorary Professor by School of Liberal Art & Languages, Shobhit University, Gangoh, Distt. Saharanpur, U.P.

Director General, Raja Ram Mohan Roy Library Foundation nominated him as his nominee in the Committee for purchasing of Books for UT Jammu & Kashmir. Incharge of Nanaji Deshmukh Library & Documentation Department at BJP state HQ in J&K.

Actively engaged in political, social, charitable and religious activities. Always striving to serve the poor and downtrodden of the society.

Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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Total 9 files Bundle IV (ve 1-9) vine (9) tiles/ containing papers of All. Jammud Kashmur PROF INC. DIPOL SC UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU Ptaja parishad DONATED BY Dr. VIDYA BHUSHAN PROF (RETD ) POL. SC UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU JAMMU GOVERNMENT Dr. VIDYA BHUSHAN PROF (RETD) POL. SO UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU FILE NO: 66 Statement by Stree Ram North Bhalgotra Advocate General Secretary All Jamonu and Kashmir Praja Parishad An Appeal to Tournalists all over BHARAT by 2 Durga Dass Verma General Secretary, All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parished Jammu (1952) Statement issued by Shori Durga Dars Verma General Secretary Praja Parished Statement of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah (Sninagar April 18, 1953) DONATED BY Dr. VIDYA BHUSHAN PROF (RETD) POL. SC UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU

## Jammu & Bushmir Praja Parishad जम्मू—कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

( Central Office Jammu )

Ref. No. 1.1.91.

Dated 18/1.1.1957.

The Hon ble Deputy Prime Minister,

Jamu and Kashmar Government.

Srinogar.

Deer Sir,

This is in continuation of our tologram deted

12.6.1951, regarding serious beating of the Proje Parished
people by the National Conference workers at Sudhmahadev in
District Udhembur. The moment I received the report of
the end incident, I proceeded to Udhampur to enquire into
the ratter. The detail of the case is that a public meetis he had an integrate 15%,
ing/ had been annuged a week before at Sudhmahadev in
Chanent Illaga. Accordingly the Proje Parished meeting
commenced at the appointed time with a song. As soon test
the cong concluded, a batch of 50 people arms with axes
and Lathies was seen approaching to the meeting place
raising sloggers shory-i- Marinin Zindabad, Motiren Beiger
Zindabad, National Conference Zindabad and Proje Parished
Musdabad. On weaching the spet, they cardoned the stage,
abused the workfore and fell upon them with thir area and
Lathies. Er. Bulkhrej, Organizing Secretary, Udlempur



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## Jammy & Hushmir Praja Parishad जम्मू—कंश्मीर पजापरिषद

( Central Office Jammu )

Ref. No ..

Dated.....

and another workfor received serious injuries.

The Police authorities on spot refused to entertain (6.1. 12th June 1951)
their written report. Next day/they were brought to Udhampur The Superintendent of Police also did not entertain the Report. The Medical Officer Udhampur was approached, but he also did not examine the wounds to issue the necessary tertificate. He was again and again requested to do his duty as prescribed under rules, but he did not accede.

Udhampur, was requested to look into the grave matter personally and take requisite steps to bring the culprits to book. He also did not take any notice. All this compolled no to bring the injured persons to Jamus for medical examination and proper treatment at 11-30 P.M. the semplay. The wounds had by then remined unatte ded for more 24 hours. Before removing them to Jamus, the matter was again brought to the notice of the Superintendent of Police and the Deputy Commissioner by me.

Attacks on public meetings organized by a political.

## Jammy & Jashmir Praja Parishad जम्मू—कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jammu)

Ref. 175 ...

party by another party and raising of anti stogans inciting violance and heating of the workers mercilessly is a clear geendaism which if not nipped in time is likely to create chaos and disturb the peace of the country. I may bring it to you kind notice that this is the direct result of Mr. Noti Ram Beigra and his companions preaching violance and hatred. They exhort people to beat and stone the Praja Parished poolile. As a specimen, his speach at Read about two months back may be referred to in which he incited the mudience to blacksthe faces of Praja Parished workers, tie them on denicys and drive theirs away after they are beaten with Lathies and axes.

Inspite of all these unbearable insults, our works have behaved like true followers of Fahetana Candhi and preferred death to raise a finger against the hockigans. If inclient referred to above is the 2nd attack of its kind in Chemeni Illaga.

The attack was well preplanned and arranged. The Police authorities instead of controlling the situation encouraged the geometric budding worst is that even the Police

tion report of the end incident and the Fedical Officer also did not issue the certificate. It means that the administration is in these hooligens hands posing as Falianal Conference workders and they have a free hand to do whatever they like. The honour and lives of the peace leving people are not secure. The peace of the country is at stake. Law and order is being abused. Goondaism is rement. We hope you will kindly take per onal interest in the matter.

. Yours faithfully,

General Secretary, All Jorna & RechningFraja Pariolad, Jermas

No. 1492

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W. 161 854.

John Highwar John and Kash mid Gover Sun agen for information and pour of necessary action.

Gul Scentary

Pt. Frem Nath Dogra then left for Delhi to meet Pt. J.L. Nehru to compallyn was then started throughout Jammu province to get 5 lacs of sig: Ature in support of the memorandum seto the president of

Praja Parishad leadership declared its opposition to separate head of the State (i.e. S-I-R), a separate flag for J & K State because these would encourage fissiparous temdences, by keeping alive a feeling of separatism which would endanger future safety and security of India. The party, therefore, considered it essential that the State should be brought fully under the Constitution of India. 'Ek Desh Mein do Vidhan - In one country th two constitutions; Ek Desh Mein Do Nishan - In one country two flags; Ek Desh Mein Do Pradhan - In one country two Presidents Nahin Challengay Nahin Challengay - will not be tolerated ... " became the battle cry of the party. 58

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One constitution one flag and on anthem, these three constitute a "Nation". We, Indiand, living in the state firmly believe that for the also of Unity and Integrity of the Nation, the above principle holds good and sho ld not be deviated from at any cost.

Deing complete in all respects, it is but essential that the analogous intingencies should also follow simultaneously.

After accession the State become an integral part of Enarat and hence the Indian Constitution should be applied in its entirety to the State. The deviation from the principle encourages the separatist and findiparous tendencies to cause disrupt -ion in the country. These forces are already active in the border areas of the country and the recognition of a separate constitution from the kashmir State will tempt those forces to become more active and disturb the peace in the country.

It is also in the interest of the State and the people living therein that the Indian constitution should be applied in size its entirety to the State. It besides other things casures to the peo le living in India.

Justice: Social, Economic, and Palitical: liberty of thought expression belief faith and Equality of Status and op; ortunity.

It leaded behaves to any faithful ditizen living in India including Ka hair that he will deny any of those rights do the people living in any part of Bharat. We do not understand a as to why those who talk of the States accession to India being hindhed per cent complete, still contemplate doubt and act up to anacting a scharate constitution for the state. This will

lead to the losering the ties of unification of Kashmir with Bharat.

In certain circles there is a tendency to dismiss the demand of the Praja Parishad as a problem for legalistic or academic dismission and to ignore its human aspects, but

those the have rai of it are indes shout it. To then it is a matter of life and death and they are determined to period in it regardless of the sufferings and sportfices which this courses and the tas.

It is pity that the Control Government have enquired from the proper quarters shy this to being cade and how for it is Justified. On the countrary to have been more remensive to the opposite demand of the Matio of Conference leaders, which is to the effect that this State sould love a special privileged statu different from that of other Indian States. The wonder is that 1/t has never occured to the others a sade use a Central Covernment that, in the ditual analysis, was those demands be contradictor in their formulation and intent really spring from stantar # re -hon sions. But the fears of, the Kadreiri lasders are Wolly baseloss, because adulttedly they have received the most generous treatment from the Govern ent and the people of Indian during to a last nine year. On the other hand the orrenerations of the Janeu pappe are fally justified by the experience they have had of " to called " .pullar rile during same pariod They have been reduce to the level of political untouchable: in their honeland. Their gentine veice has been effectively shut out from the constituent Associty. The Covernment formed by the conformes party is noit or remonsible, nor responsive, to Jenua people. The cors of Government ervices are closed to then, and these already in ervices are being reded back. The administration is corrupt and inefficient and it is difficult for common men to obtain reduces in the ordinary warse. Netarali the James prople sed: Amenachanchemenachanamamama protection presient esion. which some of he Indian Constitution and one and, sode organs of the central ascerety aid t possibly of ord them. But the Radaril Leaders decine to retain to oct of worder They denoted autoion; for temastro to relation to the Central authorities of the ladion thion and at the same time they stick to undiluted autocracy in the state of on unal terails fixed asjority in relation to the Jersu people. In Jairness they should accord the same tree tree to the later as is decend cc-o. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

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of the Jammu people is ignored on the flag plea that it is confined to reactionary, communalist and vested interest.

The problem t at has arisen between Jammu and Kashmir is is essentially the same problem as has emerfed between the whole State and the Indian Union. And for tunately it is also the problem that the Indian Constitution was devised to solve. Its wise framers were faced with the rival claims of competing elements in the bady politic and they arrived at a nice adjustment of those claims in the frame work of that Constitution. This nece balance at adjustment makes it eminently fitted to provide a solution of the essentially human problem that facesue in this State. This is a strong reason why a solution of this problem should be attempted by applying the Indian Constitution in its entirety to this State.

Viswed against the above background the unsatisfactory character of the said proposals becomes quite apparent, in an much as they disturb the nice balance of adjustments that the Indian Constitution in its entirety was intended to be.

The safeguards afforded in the Indian Constitution are being denied to the people of the State. The Jurisdiction of the Supereme Court, Election Commissioner and Auditor General to the State is being purposaly avoided. This has definitely raised doubts in the minds of those who advocate for the application of the entire eonstitution. If the Mashmirb leaders contemplate fears in the Indian Constitution, What safeguards do they hold out to their counterpart in the State. The past experience has given a bad taste and promises still worse in the futhure. The said provision in the draft State Constitution with regard to the declaration of the arg -anisations opposed to the draft as unlawful is undamo amounts to enclaving the people a d the Parishad will not be an idle spec ator to it . We appeal to the democratic for-ces wit in and without the state to rise to the occassion and see that the danger to the country is avaited and the genuine, patriot -ic demond of the people of the Rashmir state for the appoication of the Indian Constituation to the state is conceded. We

in India to appreciate the feelings of the patriatio forces and to be vigilant to the farliest tactics of the disruptionists in the State.

The State Constituent Assembly, however, could not get Ratification of the accession which Sheikh Abdullah thought w was impolitic and inexpedient...without getting a prior reciprocal approval for the State's special status within the Indian Union which he felt was necessary to ensure the safety, security and well being of its Muslim Wajority.

In order to resolve the differences between the Centre and the State an official deputation of Kashmiri leaders was summoned by Centre on June 12, 1952 which arrived on June 17, 1952 and held a series of discussions with the Government in order to resolve the constitutional dead lock. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah also joined them on July 17, 1952. Preliminary discussions were held from 12 to 20 June, 1952, between the Government of India and Kashmiri delegation headed by Mr. M.A. Beg. A further discussion took place between Pt. Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah from July 16 to July 27, 1952. All this resulted in Delbi Magines Michitary BJP Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

Parished deplore's Shri Nehru Ji's statement concerning Kashmir, not merely because it ignores the true background of the situation, but also because it amounts to virtual surrender to the Separatist designs of the Abdullah party in Kashmir and utter disregard of the wishes of the people of Jamma and Ladakh as also of a consideration section of the people of Kashmir Valley.

The reference in the statement to the geographical significance of the State amounts to a misinterpretation of the facts of history and geography. Kashmir Valley and Jammu have all through the ages been integral parts of India geographically, historically, culturally as also economically.

The description of National Conference party of

Kashmir as an off-shoot of the Indian National Conferess and
as one guided by the ideals and objectives of Gandhiji is
fallacious and misleading in so much as the former began
fallacious and misleading in so much as the former began
as "Mislim Conference" drawing inspirations from the
stalwarts of Muslim League till 1939 when it converted
stalwarts of Muslim League till 1939 when it converted
itself into National Conference. Even as National Conference
itself into National Conference.

The acceptance of Sh: Abdullah's demand for making his party flag as the State flag is indefensible and wholly unwise, because there can be only one flag in one country as the symbol of its unity and integrity. To describe the Mational Conference flag as symbol of the State people's political struggle is no argument for elevating it to the position of a Stage flag. If Kashmir elevating it to the position of a Stage flag. If cannot is a constituent unit of India like any other, it cannot adopt any flag other than the Indian flag. Moreover the people of James have a strong sentiment against this flag. The other major demand regarding abolition of hereditary rule has been conceded. This Convention feels that the

policy of singling out the Maharaja of Kashmir, who is only a constitutional head now, to appears Sh. Abdullah is impolitic and smacks of vindictiveness.

While these demands of Abdullah Government to weaken the ties that bind India and Kashmir have been accepted, the popular demands for full application of the Indian Constitution to the State, particularly in respect of citizenship, fundamental rights, Supreme Court and financial integration have not been met. The agreement is either wary vague in these matters, or has taken away in the shape of exceptions what it seems to concere as a principle, for example; while conceding in one breath that citizenship should be common, in an other breath the State Govt, has been given the power to maintain invidious distinctions between different classes of the permanent residents of the State and of cutailing the rights and privileges of other Indian citizens. Thus the Kashmir Govt. will be competent to bar the Indian Nationals from acquiring property or enjoying equal right in the States This tantamounts to having a dual citizenship, which will militate against the unity of India and like the dual flag, might create a dangerous precedent for other States. The ulterior motives underlying these decisions are political and not social as has been alleged in some quarters.

The special provision that has been made to allow those people of the State who have gone to Pakistan to come back and regain citizenship of the State though appearing harmless on the face of it, has a dangerous import. So far, most of the Hindu evacuess from the Azad Kashmir areas have been denied the opportunities to settle within the State while those who had migrated to Pakistan and adopted Pakistani nationality are being encouraged and provided with facilities to come back and settle in the State. Even utter foreigners like Kazaks

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from Central Asia, who happen to be muslims and could not, under the State laws, settle in the State have been given full naturalisation rights to settle in the Kashmir Valley. It is feared that steps might continue to be taken which might disturb drastically the present social and religious composition of the State population. This Convention, therefore, urges upon the Government of India to see that Hindu Evacuees who are being sent to far off places outside the State like Bhopal, and Bikaner are settled within the State. Those who have already settled in the State must not be dispossessed and uprooted again to resettle returning muslims from Pakistan controlled areas. Unless and until the nonliberated areas of the State are liberated, muslims from Azad Kashmir and Pakistan should not be allowed to come. Even in regard to the fundamental rights two special reservations have been made, one concerning to land legislation and the other concerning the present" abnormal conditions" obtaining in the State". With regard to the first reservation the Convention feels that if this represents the considered policy of the Govt of India the Indian Constitution should be amended accordingly and the Kashmir example adopted for the whole of India. In the reverse case the Kashmir Government should not be permitted to act in contravention of the Indian Constitution so flagrantly.

In regard to Supreme Court, the Kashmir Govt.,
while accepting in principle its jurisdiction over Kashmir,
has postponed the final decision on the plea of working
out the details. The vital question of financial integration
has also been left over for further consideration. Even
the powers of the President of India to declare emergency
in case of internal disturbances has been made subject to
the concurrence of the Govt. of the State. All this, the
Convention feels, reduces the scope and utility of the
Concessions made by the State Government, as is apparent
from the recent speeches made by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah

and Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg. Sheikh Abdullah has got all that he wanted, and the Agreement can hardly make the State people feel that they are a part and parcel of India. Even in regard to the three subjects of defence, foreign affairs and communications the State has not yet acceded fully in practice, as a number of subjects coming under these heads, viz Radio, Telegraph and Telephone etc., according to Government of India's own admission vide answers in Parliament have not yet come under the control of the Centre.

This Convention is, therefore, convinced that
the present Government of Jammu and Kashmir is trying
to restrict the accession of the State to minimum
possible limits in order to serve the vested interests
of those in power, to the detriment of the larger
interests of the people of the State as also of India.
It condemns this attitude of the State Government as
basically communal and parochial which is bound to
aggravate centrifugal forces within the State and without
it. This Convention therefore is of the opinion that the
Nehru-Abdullah Agreement has not altered the situation
to such extent as to warrant any change in the stand
taken up by the Praja Parishad in its President's
Memorandum to the Rashtrapati. The Conference reiterates
that stand and demands that:-

- 1. The Muslims from Azad Kashmir Pakistan should not be allowed to return and settle in the State until and unless the nonliberated areas are liberated and non muslims refugees from those areas are able to return to and settle in their ancestral homes.
- 2. The Hindu and Sikh refugees who have already settled here should not be dislodged and those still unsettled outside the State should be properly rehabilitated in the State.
- pending that, the part of the State lying on Indian side of the Gease Fire Line should be fully integrated side of the Gease Fire Line should be fully integrated

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Milos This agreement India agreed and reiterated its solemn (15 pledge to give the State a special status in its constitution. This would guarantee complete internal autonomy to the State. The hereditary ruler was to be replaced by an elected head of the State. The fundamental rights incorporated in the Indian Constitution were to be applied to the State, subject to the provision that they would not disturb the programme of land reforms. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was to be limited, as regards the State, to inter-state disputes, fundamental rights and to matters of defence, foreign affairs and communications. The Union Government agreed to the State's retaining its own flag, but insisted that the supremacy of the National flag should be

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Statement issued By Pt. Wath Dogra, President, all Jon Preje Parished. Dated 20 theopt 1962.

The allitude of the Praja Parished with respect to the question of theelected Read of the state has been made unmistakenedly clear on several occasions, but attempts come to be made in interested quarters to misunderstand and misinterpret it: it thereforebecomes necessary to clarify this attitude once again. 11. As the fundamental stand of the Praja Priched is the for the fulland unqualified accessionof the state to the Indian Union like other Parts states, it follows that we are in favour of the Ruler of the functioning as Raj Framukh of the state as on other similar states. It fallows also: -

1.) That we are opposed to the Head of the states being appointed er removed at the behest (or, as it ouphemistically called, on the reco-men mmendation) of the Kashmir Assembly which, consisting as it does me-rely of the nominees of the National Conference party of Kashmir, represents no body else in the State and least of all in the James Province.

2) We are opposed to the Head of the state being designated as,,

Sadder-i-Ryoset which means in English President within of the stato ; because we thingh there should not be two president within the same Ropubble or Union of States.

of the 3) We are also opposed to the Head Meing state being elected by the I the local legistature periodically for a number of years, because this will make him a play-thing of local polotics and a mer mere purpot of the unalterably fixed communal majority party in that Lagisle ture.

THE The above explains the base attitude of the Praja Parish & towards this question, but there are a few other considerations which are also relevant to this question, namely:-

(i) The so-called Constituent Assembly of Kash ir being a creature of the Ruler and deriving from him whosever authority it posesses has no logal and constitutional power or noral justification for deciding the fate of that very Ruler. (ii) Eret the Instrument of Accession signed by Meharaja

Hari Singh thu as the legal Sovereign of the State, and by the Governor General of India, is in the nature of a solemn contract or treaty which connot and should not be repudiated or modified unilaterally by one party to it, much less at the behest of an Assembly, which was never a party to it.

(iii) What the present attitude of the Mational Conference

Leaders towards the Ruler from whom they derived authority

sn oks of vindictive and communal bias and does not seem to be consistent with the best interest of India or of the State.

(IV) That the spectable of the Hon'ble President of the Indian Union, acting machinically on the recommendations of an unrepresentative body in the gatter of recognizingor removing the Head of the State, without regard to the marite or demonstrative unrepresentative body in the gaver or recognizing or removing the Mead of the State, without regard to the merits or dements fairness or unfairness; of the recommendations and without escertaining the wishes of the elements unrepresented in the Assembly, will be highly unddifying and should not be presented to the world.

(v) That it is unwase and inempodient at this juncture to remove the one authority which has provided the sole unifying link for and hes commanded the allegiance of the hetrogenous elements constituting the State of Jorna and Kashrir

for more then a century. (vi) That it is unwise and inexpedient in the interest of the State as well as of India, to mete out a discriminatory treatment to the Ruler of the State so Long as Rajpramuchs continue in other States like Hyderabad ( From Fath Dogra)

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The Praja Parishad was of the view that Nehru-Sheikh

Accord (Delhi Agreement of 1950) was another surrender at the

alter of communal instransignace and separation of Sheikh

Mohammad Abdullah, a fraud on Indian people and an attack on

Proja

Indian Constitution. Pt. Prem Nath Dogra declared that Parishad

would launch a satyagrah if the Agreement was enforced.

On the other hand the inhabitants of Doda district too being much agitated and emphasized that as they had peculiar local problems and historically, geographically and culturally were quite different from their neighbouring unit, they could not in any way be attached with the cultural unit of Jammu. While stressing that they must be given the status of a separate cultural unit, they demanded the State to be divided into as many as five cultural units - Kashmir, Jammu, Poonch, Rajouri, Ladakh, and Doda - in the future constitutional set-up of the State. Each such unit legally having equal status would enjoy autonomy in the conduct of their internal affairs including maintenance of law and order within their own limits.

There was a deep resentment in Ladakh also and events had taken somewhat similar turn as in Jammu. Kushak Bakula, the head Lama, voiced the feelings of the people of Ladakh when he declared that in the event of Kashmir drifting away from India the Ladakhis would break their connection with the State and merge with the Indian Union.

On the other hand the valley too was not calm. An opposition group Awami Conference under the leadership of Kh. Umar

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Bhat was allowed to come into existence within the ranks of National Conference. Pro-Pak elements were also encouraged by happenings in Jammu and they demanded secession. The Nationalist group demanded maximum autonomy for the State. Regional sentiment helped to fragment popular discontent and regional tension brought the regional cordiality to an end.

Criticising the Agreement in the Parliament Dr Shyama
Prasad Mukerjee advocated Kashmir's complete integeration with
India or alternatively self-determination for Jammu and Ladakh.

Neither the Government of J & K nor the Government of India paid any heed to the Praja Parishad demands. On the other hand Sheikh Abdullah at once gave effect to those provisions of Agreement of 1952 which symbolised the separation of the State from India. But no further action was taken by the State Government with regard to its other provisions particularly the transfer of Centrol tof the State telegraph and telephone departments to centre, financial integration, application of fundamental rights, extension of jurisdiction of Supreme Court of India to the State. Sheikh Abdullah was, therefore, accused of ignoring those provisions of agreement which confirmed Kashmiri's ties with India. 66

In response to an invitation from Shree Yavaraj Bahadur a Praja Parishad delegation headed by Pandit Premnath Dogra met him at Srinager and had a series of talks in an atmosphere of cordiality and understanding. The issue of acceptance of rejection of office of Elected Need of the State was discussed. It being the first chance in which Japanu people were invited for consultations, the Fraja Parishad stand for full accession and application of the Indian Constitution, with particular reference to the dangerous implications with particular reference to the dangerous implications of creating a Republic within Lopublic in having a separate Clag separate constitution and Mected Headship was fully explained to him. The Conist of civil liberties and fundamental rights, the unrepresentative character of the Constituent Assembly and reactions to the various issues arising out of Indo Kashmir agreement were also placed before him. The abolition of Heraditary Monarchy—the only hinding link between the different constituent units of the State was also a subject of discussion. Shree Yuvaraj gave a patient hearing to all that the delegation had to say. We threw light on the various aspects of the situation and gave an analysis of some wider issues involved, with particular reference to the integrity of the State, the interests of the country at large and international situation. The delegation after giving their best consideration to Shree Yuvara Jee's analysis of the mituation, and in view of the fact that it is considered imperative to approach the Government of India in connection with the detrimental decisions of the Constituent Assembly feels that so long as the question of Maharaja's abdication or withdrawal of his recognition as Rajparmikh is not finally decided by the Government of India and till the new constitution for the State assumes a concrete shape it would be premature to give any definite opinion over this single issue of accepting or rejecting the offine of the Read of the State by Shree Ynvars, Bahadur. Dated CC-0! Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu, Digitized by eGango



In the turmoil that preceded the actual partition of the Mother Land into two parts and the exection of the State of Pakistan the Troja Parishad, keepingin view the logic of traditions and ides as of one Indian Nation Hood and that the development and prosperity of the State is pare in the status joining with Bharat, decided and persuaded the then Government of the tate to acceed unconditionally to India. The events that followed fully endorsed the decision taken by Praja Parishad and powed that there was no better alternative to it. The British plans to isclate us and to afford opportunity to Takistan to subjugate us were upset when the Maharaja of Kashmir following the advice of Praja Parishad leaders to Balat. We hold no byfrief for mongchical institutions nor we stand for their retention any longer but the role of the ruler of Jones and Reshmir in causing accession of the State to India by signing the instrument of accession must be appreciated.

The people of the State resisted the invaders with great hereion and sacrifice because they understood it very will that their future was intimately bound with Kharat which could ensure to them their traditions and ideals of National brotherhood.

The anti-national forces in the State that had, all along the national movement in the Eharat was goingon, been playing a accord fiddle in the hards of the British diplomates however kept themselves busy in the State. Some times they tried to find impossible and impracticable third alternative to the State in accession to Bharat at another they keeped on the much condensed plan of Independence Kashmirraleing opportunity for the imperial state deplomate to muddle with the Kashmir problemand create difficulties in its solution. It was to strenten such forces in the world that anti-national forces in the State to undermine the one mass of the State with therest of Bharat, by seeking protection and privilege in the garb of article 370 in the Indian Constitution.

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The Parished viewed all these diroumstances with great alary and saw the great danger involved in persuing such alternatives which were weakening the ties of the State with the Bharat and thus endangering the poace and prosperity of the State . The privilege sought under article 370 of the Indian Constitution was being exploited for the intere to of mischieveous imperialists forces of the world, when the Parished condemned the tetention of this article in the consitution of India and demanded detention. The Parishad felt it and made it explicitly clear that article 370 will afford the privileged partitions of the State's accession to endanger the Therat and to undermine a challange the integrity of em oriment of secular democracy being practiced in the country.

A fleg, a constitution and an anthem these three sum up a nation has been challenged by those who profess to be the only nationals in the State. Indiene are one nation but different nations is their concept a step further to strengthen the machinations of the British Imperialists diplomacy in Bharat. A separate flag separate President a separate Constitution and manipulation of territorial areas with a purpose are reassuming evidence of the non-communal working of the adm nintration of the State. The epirit behind as has been working in the State for the last 7 years was turning the State into a nimelandar citadel of imperialist intrigues . The Fraja Parichad felt it and to undo the efforts of the administrators of Kashmir to weaken the firm and unbreakable ties with India and to maintain the integrity of the State with India started a movement to decide the issue once for all and to get redress/the economically opressed and politically suppressed people of the State. Much of thedangers that were a head both for the people of the State and the rest of Bharat have been cluminated because of the sufferings,

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identia and tortures borne by the people of the State and first of Thorot at the cal of Traja arished. The apprens specifices of late Dr./Nuker Jes to uphold the cause of Proje sriched has comented the ties of the tate with Thorot.

The Parished feels that some forces in the State are still thinking of limited accession of the State with tharat. Parished is convinced that complete accession campact be restricted or limited. In the present circumstances there can be no peaceful and honourable life for the people of the State in the State. The jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court have been curtailed to prevent effective enforcement of fundamental and other rights and full control over the State High Court regarding the appointment and removal of its judges differentlying than the rest of Harat has been retained in order that the local judiciary may not become truly independent and embarras the Executive authorities.

Govt spokesman in the State are intermingling Integration of the State with Bharat primarial with that of merger of the State with Baurat. Parished knows the difference and they have all along been fighting for the complete Integration of the State with Bharat like all o other 'B' class State.

The General Council of Praja Parished re-intereases interested their Stand and repolves, that Einstee accession will not ensure to the people of the State what they have been string for and a full and complete accession with implications can only create a sense of peace harmon and security in the State. It will also put an end to the oft repeated intrigues of foreign diplomata in the State. It will also put an end to adjustment in the Indian Committee balance of adjustment in the Indian Committees.

Land to the outer margarets will be to the LAST HENCI, CETURAL SECRETARY ALL J & K PRAJA PARISHAD JANTU OF 3rd WOVE THE 1954.

A reference to the historic Praja Parished been made in a resolution of the Wational Conference general council at Srinager.

The allegation that Parishad advocates the return of monarchy and the undoing of the land-reforms in the State, is an absolute lie. Our stand regarding headship of the State has repeatedly been made clear that in this respect Jammu & Kashmir State be treated like other States in India.

Cur criticism of the State government's land reforms has come cut to be true correct in the very words of the government's eppointed Warir Committee. It is absolutely wrong to say that the Parished stands for dispossession of the peasant's newly acquired lands.

Parished's stand regarding the accession issue is now well known to every body in this country. We stand for full and finel accession of the State of J & K with Indian Union and the application of the Constitution in its entirty to this State. This in no way means complete merger, but it surely fails to accomodate the unpatriotic tend of independence and loose relationship of the State with the Union.

The success of our struggle is clearly indicated by the fact that those who once stood for State's limited accession, today take pride in denouncing their previous policies and declarations to which they themselves were a party.

All these allegations aim only at maligning Praja Parish & - the only and the strongest opposition in the State.

Parishad is proud to proclaim that it exists for the noble and patriotic cause of unification of the State of Janua & Washmir with nother India and shall consider no sacrifice too great to achieve this end.

> General Secretary, All J & E Preja Parished

The people of Jammu had number of grievances against the then State Government. These were as under in the Consumers of the people of Jammu

- The Prime Minister of Kashmir, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was an absolute stranger, a communal valley based leader who had "failed to win the confidence of the people of Jammu."
- 2) He (the Sheikh) wielded unrestricted powers with

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arrogance and that his administration was reflection of administrative corruption and political high-handedness which "began to percolate outside the State."

- The special status given to Jammu and Kashmir State under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution kept under temporary provision was not acceptable to the Sheikh without giving the Article a permanent place in the said Constitution. But it was not accepted in the light of the fact of the limited accession of the State. Article became an anathema to the Hindus of Jammu who began to seek its abrogation from its very birth.
- The Jammu Hindus also charged the people's Government with the allegation that the money flooded into the State from the Centre was utilized in the development of the valley and very little was spent in Jammu.
- 5) His demand for Independent Kashmir was also a reaction to growing Hindu chauvinism in India and Jammu.
- 6) Sheikh Abdullah was characterised as a rapid communist even by Nehru.
  - "Communism was a disease with him and he would never get rid of it, and his entire outlook and behaviour was based on the fact that Kashmir valley had a Muslim majority."
- 7) Valley based leadership had always remained a frog in the well with its narrow local nationalistic outlook.

  It could not extend its influence to other parts of the State. It had generated regionalism in all the three

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units of the State, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh and as such it failed to democratise the political structure of the State, safeguard, the rights of the people therein as well as ensuring impartial administration of justice and guarantee, them some sort of autonomy.

- By the New Kashmir Plan of planned economy, the people of Jammu and the Kashmiri Pandits were "the hardest-hit materially as well as psychologically by Sheikh Abdullah's Plan."
- 9) Under New Kashmir scheme of abolition of landlordism by giving land to tillers and of forming cooperative associations, the Sheikh's Government first abolished the landlordism in April 1948. On July 13, 1950 the Government introduced land reforms in the entire State. The abolition of Big Landed Estates Act, 1950 made individual holding of more than 182 kanals illegal. The landlord was not allowed to keep more than 160 kanals of agriculture land, 8 kanals of land for vegetable gardens, 4 kanals on residential site and 10 kanals of orchards. The rest of the land was to be transferred to the actual tiller with propriet or rights. The abolition of the landlordism was done without compensation.

The main complaint of the minorities was that majority of the landlords and the Sahukars were Hindus to whom no compensation was paid. Besides, when the law was put to operation, it was found that most of the distributable land had already been allowed to non-deserving people. Thus one of the reasons for resentment among the Hindus

against the Government was the abolition of landlordism done with the spirit of communalism.

- 10) It was also said that in spite of the generous flow of money into the State from the Government of India, the State had not been registering an advage in its economic growth with the result that due to constant strains and pressures, the Government found itself incapable of tackling issues. Its net result was discontent and crisis.
  - 11) The Jammu people, it has been said, were deprived politically and economically. They were denied their due share either in the power structure or in the economic reforms. As a deprived section, all the Hindus were concentrated in Jammu province which become the centre of protest.
    - The demand for plebiscite voiced by the Sheikh in his public speaches, as promised by the Government of India and according to the United Nations' Resolution, was feared by the people in Jammu and Ladakh. The very didea of plebiscite hang like the sword of democles over their heads. They feared that the plebiscite, if allowed, would be in favour of Pakistan which they would at no cost agree to accept. The transfer of power from Jammu based Dogra House to the Valley based National Conference, headed by the Sheikh, and his majority of coreligionists through democratically constituted could never be tolerated by the Hindus of Jammu Province who used to be always loyal to their ruler. They saw in

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the new shift a reversed regional power imbalance which generated in them a psychological vaccum to be filed only when the Sheikh could be removed.

- 13) The above factors were the root cause of the turmoil which distrubed the Jammu Province from the very beginning since in the parliamentary democracy, the rule of the majority prevails. It naturally went in favour of the Muslim majority population of the State which the Hindus had been fearing from the very beginning of the freedom struggle. In order to regain their erstwhile position now under the patronage and with the support of Hindus, India and also the Central Government, the Jammu people began, on the one or the other pretext, to protest against what they called the Muslim dominance and tyranny. For this purpose they adopted the course of Hindu Chauvinism in the State. They, in fact, generated the regionalism in the State. The State after 1947 was faced with regional tensions which was the cause of secessionism in the Valley. Both these trends, the Hindu chauvinism and the Muslim sentiments which manifested "mutual adjustment" and form a process of commulative chain reactions.
  - In his interview toDavidson, the Sheikh advocated for an Independent Kashmir. "And, thanks to our Prime Minister, the Constituent Assembly, has already made Kashmir Independent through Article 370, which gives all powers regarding the State of Jammu and Kashmir to the Constituent Assembly of the State and the present

cabinet and the President of Indian Republic will have no powers at all."

- The Sheigh had declared July 13 as the official

  "Martyrs Day" all over the State, which the Hindus

  could never accept as such because for them "the

  Mohammadan agitation in Kashmir could not have

  flourished in the State and there would have been no

  Muslim Conference which was later named the "National

  Conference", led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who

  continues to be even today the Communist leader that

  he was in July, 1931."
  - The condition of the minorities in Kashmir was so better, if not worse, than that in Pakistan; only the methods employed were much more minister.
  - The minority community had been deprived of all their professions or jobs or sources of income under one pretext or the other and everything was done in the name of New Kashmir.
  - As regards the Government services, the Sheikh's administration had totally changed the criterion of merit and efficiency required for the appointment and new promotions and appointments had been made indiscriminately without any criterion.
  - As regards the land, the share of landlords in the produce had been reduced from one half to one-fourth.

    But this too was not allowed to be given to landlords of the minority community by National Conference workers. Even those Hindu landlords who used to

allowed to do it. Many fruit gardens belonging to minority community were brought to the ground. This led a large population to starvation and then to death.

20) As regards trade, since most of the important commodities had been converted into State monopolies and under control and those few things that were not under control could be freely imported to Jammu from where under system of priorities the members of the majority community could have permits very easily and only those Hindus could get permits who became a party to machinations of those who ran the entire supplies and transport departments. Also under the system of nationalised transport only those Hindus could get their goods transported who could manage things with powers that be.

In this context the All J & K Praja parishad had, however, adopted following eight-point programme for the acceptance otherwise they were to perform satyagrah :
Eight point Programme of the All Jak Praja Perishad

Full integration of the State into the Indian Union;

- 2. If there was to be a limited accession of Kashmir then Jammu and Ladakh should be permitted to integrate fully;
- The Indian Constitution to be applied to the State in full;
- 4. The Supreme Court of India to have a full juridiction;
- 5. The Constituent Assembly to be re-elected in fair

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election;

- 6. The custom barriers between Kashmir and India to be eliminated;
- 7. Kashmir to adhere to the same 'The State, Central and concurrent lists of subjects as the other Indian States; and
- 8. The charges of curruption against the State regime to be investigated by an impartial Tribunal.

Pt. Prem Nath Dogra and Dr S.P. Mukerjee met at

Jullunder during Punjab Jana Sangh session on November 8, 1952

and discussed the plan for the Satyagrah. verified by any recognised

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>c-1. PLITS) MettI

Pendit Premnati Dogra, President, All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad, has issued the following statement here today:

"In view of somewhat conflicting reports that are appearing in the press in Jammu as well as outside the State, it has become necessary to issue an authoritative version regarding the future line of action of the Praja Parishad."

hensions arising out of the various policies and programmes of the present party in power and our solutions to the knotty problems confronting our State. They have been clearly explained in the Memorandum that we have recently submitted to the President of India."

"We want complete accession of the whole State with India. But if
Kashwir leaders continue to insist on limited accession, we want Jammu to be
integrated with India in the manner of other Part B Class States. Again, if
any body has doubt about the representative character of the Parishad, we
are prepared to get this view ascertained and verified by any recognised
democratic method through an agency independent of the Abdullah Government."

"We have every hope that our labours in bringing home the truth of our demands will bear fruit. If, however, unfortunately justice is denied to us, we shall not sit idle. To meet that eventuality preparations we already underway for holding a convention of Praja Parishad within next fortaig night that will decide the party's future line of action."

elements in the Praja Parishad much disgusted as they are with recent decisions of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, who do feel that way. I cannot commit Praja Parishad to their view, nor do I know what the mind of the proposed Convention is going to be. It is, however, clear that our demand for the separation of Jammu from Kashmir under certain conditions virtually already does not mean very different from any Quit Jammu movement."

Copy to the

The recent happenings is the state of J&K, culminating in the installation of the Saddar-i-Reasat, at the bidding of the political party whose nominees call themselves "The Constituent Assembly" of the State although they really represent no body, have shocked the conscience of the people. They reveal utter disregard of the feelings, wishes and interests of the people, and also of the repeated warmings of the Praja Parishad.

The sufferings of the people which begand with the tribal invasion in 1947 have been aggravated by the inefficiency, corruption, abuse of authority, and bias communal as well as provincial, on the part of the party in power.

That the patience of the people has been exhausted was clearly revealed when they observed a complete voluntary Hartal and hoisted Indian Union Flag on their buildings in Jammu city and out-lying districts on November, 12, 1952, Just when the Kashmir Government party flag was unfurled over the state forts and the Saddar-i-Reasat was installed at Srinagar This apontaneous demonstration amounts to condemnation of the Covernment policy and vindication of the Praja Parishad stand.

Being anxious and desirous that this resentment should not translate itself into violence, the Paraja Parishad is driven to the necessity of directing it along the lines laid down by Mahatma Candhi Ji in his historic struggle for Indian independents. Unfortunately all constitutional methods of ventilatin grievances are denied to the people of the state, because the freedom of press and plateform has been completely supressed and all political activity has been stifled in state. In these circumstances the only weapon available to the the oppressed people is that of non-violent "Satyagraha" which has already shaped the destiny of India. We are driven to this step by sheer frustation, because all our protests, representations and warnings have been utterly disregarded during the last five Nyapatshaukh Library, BJP, Jammu Digitized by eGangotri

We reiterate for the allionth time that the fundamental and solitary demand of the Praja Parishad is for a full and unqualified accession of the whole state to the Indian Union like other part "B" states. It follows from the basic stand that we are in favour of every step that brings us nearer this objective, and that we are opposed to every measure that leads to the opposite direction. The flying of the Indian Union Flag over buildings in Jammu on November 17, 1952 in preference to the separate Covernment party flag which was unfurled over the forts on that date, is symbolic of our desire to have complete union with India. A separate flag, a separate Ptesdient or Saddar and a separate constitution for our state are steps that will lead us in a direction opposite to that of our objective of complete and unqualified accession. We are found, therefore, to oppose all such measures. We believe that the people of the state are behind us in this desire and that the present trend of Kashmir Government policy is highly dangerous not only for this state but also for the whole of India.

Nothing good and great was ever achieved without sacrific -e. With faith an our ideal and enimity towards none, we are willing and prepared to make all necessary sacrifices and to show by our sufferings that we deserve what we desire.

The working Committee of the Peraja Parishad has already authorised their President to take whatever action he deems proper and necessary to take in the present emergency for the purpose of achieving our objective. He now appoints and nominateux Shree Durga Dass Dass Verma, General Secretary of the Paraja Parishad, to organise and carry on the compaign of "Satyagraha" with the direction that violence should be entirely avoided throughout the compaign and that the methods adopted should be legitimate, proper and effectively conducive to the ideal and objective of the Praja Parishad. He will remain in-vested with this responsibility untill otherwise directed by the President or the working committee.

Meanwhile The Emblem Committee Report had been submitted to the kashmis Consembly on Nov. 12, 1952 for consideration. Sheikin Mohammad Abdullah-then Said That : " The Emblem of the Blate of JAK Slate shall be sheild like figure with theel equichstant hosizontal strips and a lotus in full sloom on its top with two ploughs facing facing each Thes around its edges, me whole surhounded by two ears of corn with the inscription Jamona And Kashmir" at its bottom as per design: The resolution was just to vote and was adopted unainmously on the same day i. & NOV. 121 1952 The following resolutions were Then passed by Shei Amar Kashtriya prantik Sabha Jammus Mahar Deshmukh Library BIR Jammush welcon Sent to

esident of Indian Republic:

# RESOLUTIONS

UNDER the leadership of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the bogus Consembly has quite contrary to expectations and assurances of Hon'ble Prime Minister of India and Government of India, manauoured to misuse the Session of Consembly to hurry through two basic resolutions whereby under-heated passion of revenge and long cherished personal spite and prejudices, the State Emblem has been changed and contrary to the implications of constitutional alliance between the State and the Indian Union, when the former has acceded to the latter and the hereditary monarchy has been terminated contrary to all cannon of constitution and procedure thus throwing a challenge to the Constitution of India itself. The speech of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah made on the introduction of his resolutions is fabrication of lies and is Gall and Wormwood and full of venomous abuse and recriminations against not only Maharaja Harisingh Ji and the house of Maharaja Gulab Singh, but against Dogras and rajputs in particular. It is a known fact of History that Maharaja Gulabsingh Rular of Jammu founded the State of Kashmir by conquests and thus brought under one unifying control different political entities which were made into one State of Jammu Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah and his Cabinet are the creation of Maharaja Harisingh and the Constitution has come into existance at the word of Yuvaraj Karansingh (a minor) so it does not possess constitutional powers like Consembly of India which on the termination of British Rule framed a Constitutional powers of India which on the termination of British Rule framed a Constitution of India whose and India whose a tion for the Union of India where as Sh. Abdulla's Consembly was not competent so to frame without the Constitutional Head, Maharaja's consent, whose sovereignty exists, the adoption of these resolutions has created an intricate position, visa-vis Union of India and its Constitution and has cause wide spread resentment in the people of State and the Dogras in particular. The Rajputs are quite alive to the moving spirit of the time and democratic needs of the present days, but what S.M. Abdullah has been doing past four and half years and what his nominated Consembly have done, has amply demonstrated the inner working of his biased mind. The Sabha after careful, thorough and due consideration surveying the several events since October 1947 upto date has and due consideration surveying the several events of Cheilch Abdullah and his come to the unavoidable conclusion that the attempt of Sheikh Abdullah and his Government has been from the very beginning to wreak the vengeance on Rajputs in general and the Ruling House in particular.

To establish for personal end a Republic of State within the Republic of India, thereby dragging one State into a honestnest of communistic ideology which no citizen of State can allow to shape It is, therefore, hereby resolved that since the two resolutions adopted by this bogus Consembly are direct challenge to our self respect, rejection of Constitution of India altogether. We most respectfully appeal to the President of India to intervene and annual the resolutions adopted by the unrepresentative of State by a second restore, and maintain the integrity of State by President of India to intervene and annual the resolutions adopted by the unrepresentative Kashmir Assembly and restore and maintain the integrity of State by continuing the hereditary monarchy as well as the flag so long as the latter is not replaced by the Constitutional decisions of Indian Parliament and treat the State of Jammu and Kashmir as full fledged Part B State for all intents and purposes.

That in view of the behaviour of Sheikh Abdullah and his Government and Consembly, the people of Jammu shall have to consider whether they can continue giving support to a Government that has struck at the very roots of unification and internal solidarity.

President,

Sri Amar Kashtriya Prantik Sabha Jammu Tawi.

Copy to :-

The Hon'ble President of India, Republic of Bharat,

The Hon'ble Prime Minister of India,
The Hon'ble Minister of States, Government of India
The Hon'ble De feuel Minister Government of India

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New Delhi

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- and Pt. Sham Lal Sharma were, however, arrested on November 21, 1952 and the agitation started with following demands 69:-
  - (a) To settle the issue of accession one for all without further leaving it to uncertain future;
    - (b) To make it certain as to when the Pak-held Kashmir was liberated;
    - relationship between the State and the Centre with a view to ensure the oneness of India at all costs and, as such, the right of citizenship, jurisdiction of Supreme Court and of the functions of High Court, power of the President, National Planning and financial integration are give a final shape in the relationships; and
      - (d) To investigate by appointing an impartial commission

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the grievances of the people of Jammu regarding their economic advancement, employment, rehabilitation, division of boarder districts on communal lines."

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1952

L. Durga Das Venna, General Secretary, All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad, Jammu,

Dear Friends,

I address to you from that unfortunate part of the motherland which is engaged in a heroic fight against the tyrannical rule of one party dictatorship; the State of Janmu & Kashmir.

of the state as an political opposition; to exercise necessary check and bring to public light all the enunussions and commissions of the party-in-power for the healthy function of the Democratic order of the state; we have made an ceaseless endeavour to justify our existence as such.

democratic duty to establish stable and clean political life in the state the expected, essential Government co-operation was never extended, our demands and suggestions never cared for, repeated varnings not heeded to; and above all we were never tekn in the confidence as entitled to by virtue of being the only opposition in the state over the issues of accession, etc. which we genuinely feel effecting our very existence. In view of the bitter experience which we have have had during the last so many years of our struggle with the National Conference, we are convinced that even the slightest support to it from howsoever on unimportant quarter in all probability will prove disasterous and endanger the security as also the integrity of the country at large.

In order to give a fresh repitition to what we have ventured to declare millions of times before, I reitriate it once more ith full emphasis my command; that no amount of suppression or humiliation can deter us in our path and compel us to compromise our stand. We cherish for a speedy integeration

th Bharat like other part B state and aspire to enjoy the

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fundamental rights of the Indian Constitution as guaranteed and safeguarded by the angust supereme court of India.

our only crime is that we have exposed thepolitical intrigue in its nakedness, which Seikh Abdullah and his lieutenants wanted to conceal in a very deceitful manner from those poor Indians, on whose blood and toil he has erected this fraduelent mansion. The present advantageous postion that Sheikh Abdullah enjoys, let me tell you, friends! is the accident of history and conspiracy of circumstances.

Try to understand this basic postition of our movement before passing any verdict over it.

After having failed to crush the movement as claimed many a time quite egoistically by the executive authorities of the state they have furthered their undemocratic designs and served an unjust order over the local representative of the press agencies not to despatch any statement under my signature and that of our publicity secretary, so that the power-mad rulers may get an free hand to suppress us without any knowledge to our brotheren in India

In all humility Friends! I appeal you to scrap this unjust undemocratic illegal order, accord due publicity to our despatches and statements and thus serve the cause of India, its unity and clory.

Should anti-Parishad accounts continue to appear in the press it will unfortunately hit hard and http:// threaten Bharat's integrity. I believe, I am within right to expect a favourable response to my earnest and humble appeal.

JAI BHARAT.

Durga Lass Verma, General Secretary, ashmir Praja Parishad.

All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad.

Copy of the above forwarded to Estate Naga See for favour of persual and publication.

Publicity Secretary, All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad, JAMMU.

EPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY, AMRITSAR. The following Memorandum had been sent by & Sh. Om Prakash Saka & The - Hen Chairman P.S.P. Jak Jamm to Sadar-i-Riyasat Jak on Nov. 25, 1452 105

Wemorendum to the Sadar-I-Riyasat, Jammu And Kasmir A grave threat to democracy and civil liberties today exits in the Jammu and Kashmir State which will be evident from the following acts of omnassion and commission in the recent time on the part of the Mational Conference Government: 1- Continuation of the old strangulating press laws inconsistent with the present democratic times. Recent ban on anti-communist weeklies "Apna Sansar" and "Naya Samaj" for an indefinite period without administering any prior warning ewen once, illustrates the ruthless-2- Forcing newsmen to send statements even in the name of third parties. For instance, the three statements said to have been issued by the Srinager citizens, one Mr, Makhdoomi and a student leader regarding assult on Shri Ashoka Mehta were personally delivered by the Prime Minet Minister, Mr, Ghulam Mohd Bakshi, to the newsment for onward despatch.
Kashmir Information Bureau, New-Delhi, also ciculated similar statements in the name of Jammu citizens and the KashwkrxNakkumakxdm Jammu National Conference spokesman the the Delhi Press. The United Press of India is also being paid a handsome monthly amount of course not for 3- Dubbing Shri Jaya Parkash Narayan as an outsider and the Praja Socialist aspoliticalyswindlers which of course paled insignificance in view of the most recent most shameful broad-day-light violent attack on Shri Asoka Mehta and other Indian socilists including a respectable lady in the busiest centre of Srinagar. 4- Beating of almost half of the members of the P.S.P. State

Executive, along with Shri Asoka Mehta, in which incident despite
Premier Bakshi's promise of a thorough inquiry, only some junior policemen are holding a routine investigation although serval high-ups are

5- Intensification of the reign of terror since assult on Shri Asoka Mehta, our Baramulla district organiser, Mr. Mohd Subhan, was illegally detained while another worker, Mr, Shamas-ud-Din, was physically twrtured. Citizens are being officially compelled to sign prepared statements " to save themselves the fate of Shri Asoka Mehta" Even members of the Assembly with a soft corner for the P.S.P. are being extremely harmssed. The ruling party's official Organ "The Khidm; wrote the other day that Shri Asoka Mehta's was " a warning" for other It is now proved beyond doubt that the attack on Shri Asoka Mehta was engineered with a calculated view to demonstrate the determination of the men at the helm of affairs to tolrate absolutely no physical existance of any opposition elements howsoever secular, democratic and 6- Miserable failure of the Government to appreciate any reason-

ablences in any dissident voice at any time and always labelling it progressive. either an RSS or a Pakistani move. Thousands of tons of propaganda material of the enemy every day would not have done us the harm that the totaliterian rulers of the State are actually doing by showing themselves as the monopolists of nationalism and all others who do not themselves as the monopolists of nationalism and all others who do approve some of their policies arethe the enemy agents. A Government breeding on such fanaticism is a real danger to democracy and a pro-

7- The use of Government men, material and influence to achive petty party ends in opposition to the most legitimate activities of any section of the public. Srinagar Deputy Comissioner was recently made a member of the National Conference Election Board in the Town Area election at Anantnag. Likewise, the Jammu traders are being persistently told that they can secure a reduction in the present octroi ratesonly if they get rid of Lala Girdhari Lal Anand as the President of the Jammu Chamber of Commerce who hold the socilist views.

Recruitment of services as well as promotions and punishments are also being motivated by party considerations. It is not without significance that your own declaration two years back regarding setting

up of public service commission is still to be implimented.

8- Conceoption of internal autonomy as means to garb maximum autonomy for themselves alone- refusing to decentrales it, rather using it to suppress the opposition elements. For instance, the exclusion of the State fro thr jurisdiction of the central autid audit does in 121

no way add to the autonomy of the people but only empowers the State rulers to corrupt the people and strengthen the forces of totalitar-

9- Ever growing expenditure on the police and the publicity lanism. departments obviously to crush the people on one hand and not only vigorously proclaim it just the otherwise on the other hand but also most rapidly spread all falsehoods in regard to the activities of the

12- Discountenancing popular co-operation even in the imple mentaopposition elements. tio of such useful schemes as the National Extention Service and the community Projects and making them altogether subservientto the party considerations Sevral Block Development Officers hold important party offices and in fact their only job appears to be the party work.

11- Delibrate delay in completing the constitution-making task and prolongation of the Constituent Assembly as the Legislature for which purpose it was never convened. It is indeed amusing to find that the no-confidence vote has been passed by the State Assembly against four M.P.s from the State without having any such constitutional right while refusing the same right of recall to the people of the State who have been persistently demanding an early election. Mention may aalso be made here of our municipal committees, elections towwhich have

not been held for the last about sixteen years.

This is not all what, I feel, can be legitimately said against the National Conference Government in the State. Nor am I unmindful of the crisis our land is passing through at present. I am, however, convinced that never was there a greater urgency than at present for all of us to respect the values of democracy and civil liberties— the subject of my today's interview. The efforts of the State Government to suppress and malign my party are regrettable to say the least. I am indeed little interested in making any defence as such except. indeed little interested in making any defence as such except expressing the belief that the policy and the programme of my party should always speak for itself. For your persual and record I enclose the copies of the political resolution passed by us at our recent convention and the main speech by Shri Asoka Mehta there. The State rulers are endeavouring hard to distort them and then exploit the distorted versions to maslead

the people in believing something beyond facts.

The whole situation is thus pregnant with far reaching reprecuestions and my sole purpose at the moment is to request you as the Head of the State to prevail upon the State Government to behave fairly and

democratically.

15. - ( Om Parkash Saraf) Chairman, P.S.P., J&K3JAMMU November 25, 1954.

Pt. Prem Nath Dogra, the President of Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad submitted a Memorandum to the President of India on 15th April, 1954177 with the request that the Govt. of India should examine the proposed Constitution with special care and to ascertain the opinion of the people of Jammu Frovince, before accepting them finally.178 He once again assected that they were opposed to J & K State having a separate Constitution. While criticising it he said that the unsatisfactory character of the new proposals became quite apparent, in as much as they disturbed the nice balance of adjustments that the Indian Constitution in its entirety was intended to be. They "mutilated its organic unity without leaving a fair working arrangement". They seemed to have been cleverly devised in order to achieve the following objectives, he added:

176. Ibid., p. 2.
177. Memorandum—Submitted to the President of India by Pt. Prem
Nath Dogra, J & K Praja Parishad, Jammu, p. 12.
178. Ibid., p. 2.

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### Constitution of the Anvil

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- (1) To retain as much power as possible;
- (2) To part with as little of it as might be inevitable;
- (3) To let qualifications and exceptions swallow up what is conceded;
- (4) To make the powers retained be the chosen monopoly of an unalterable fixed majority;
- (5) To ensure that the resulting set up shall not be altered without the consent of that majority.

Some of the expedients adopted by the framer of the proposals, in order to achieve the above objectives were also enlisted in the memorandum. They were:

1. Fundamental rights have been whittled down and reduced to a mockery.

2. The jurisdiction and powers of the Supreme Court had been curtailed to prevent effective enforcement of fundamental and other rights.

3. Full control over the State High Court has been retained in order that the local Judiciary may not become truly independent and embarrass the executive authorities.

4. A sort of dual citizenship has been created, within the Indian Union to its eternal shame and humiliation.

5. One way traffic from Pakistan in the matter of settlements within this State has been provided for.

6. Direct elections to the House of the people from the State have been avoided, in order that the authentic voice of the people of this State may not be heard even in the Indian Parliament.

7. The powers vested in the Central organs of authority in the Indian Union in relation of the other "part 'B' States" have been curtailed even in matters of common and national interests where uniformity of action is necessary.

8. The status of the Sadar-i-Riyasat has been made inferior even to that of a Governor, and his position precarious by leaving him at the mercy of a pre-

preca 147 179. Ibid., p. 3.

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#### CState Politics and Government

judiced and an unalterable fixed majority in the local legislature.

Even the Delhi pact has not been fully implemented.

10. Certain provisions of the Indian Constitution which are applicable to this State at present are proposed to be repealed.

The capacity and powers of the Indian Union to take 11. prompt and effective action in relation to this State at times of emergency have been crippled.

Provisions relating to effective and independent audit 12.

and financial control have been omitted.

Drastic and confiscatory "law less" laws are pro-13. posed to be legalized. 180

Pt. Prem Nath Dogra further added that the Constitution should not have been conceived and hatched in a secret manner behind closed doors, without associating any person unconnected with the Govt. or the Assembly even in an advisory capacity at any stage of their formulation or consideration. Rather such an important matter as Constitution, he emphasised, ought to have been circulated for public opinion before it was finally possed Nahaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

Yugoslav Centre State Relations

by Robin Alison Remington, University of Missouri-Columbia

Political scientists tend to think of centre-state relations

as the tension between national and regional interests. In Yugoslavia

this involves the nature of regional groupings that Paul Wallace

tifies as one of the two factors ordering the framework of

indian tate interestions along with the status and style

o slice and party. However, in the Yugoslav system there is

historic dimension that further complicates this political dynamic.

strian do oslavia is a very young state. The first attempt at South

Austrian do' oslavia is a very vound state. The first attempt at South state of the first attempt at South state of the gration, the interwar Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Serbs alenes acceased in 1918 only to be dismembered in Mitler's bid the ear Furobean domination in 1941. Postwar socialist Yugoslavia has way only been in business since 1945.

"nations" a nationalities that does not exist in other federal

"stems. Indeed, the territorial divisions of Yugoslavia were
established on the principle that Yugoslav nations have a right
to a home base and a higher degree of internal autonomy than
nationalities. There are six nations identified with republics, two
main nationalities with their own autonomous provinces. The republics
correspond to states. Although somewhat analogous to Union territories,

really nothing that corresponds to autonomous provinces.

Centre-republic/provincial relations are further complicated by the differences - tween the six recognized nations in historical experience, political culture, level of economic development, size, demographic composition anguage and religion. The two largest nations are (Serts (8.1million), and lats, (4 million) These ethnically and linquistically related paoples 5 slip. I more than half of Yugoslavia's 23 million population. These historic, proud nations separated by hundreds of years of Ottoman and Austrian domination. Both look back longingly to golden ages of independent stallehood . During their long struggles to survive as non-state nations, Serbs and Croats developed different political behaviors and expectations to the extent that there is substantial truth in the popular proverb that the way of life of a Serb and a Crost are a provocation to one another. wive hundred years under the Turks resulted in a Serbian warrior culture with faith in military solutions and authoritarian/centralizing political oriantations. There was little experience with compromise or negotiation. Serbs are orthodox Christians and use a cyrillic script similiar to Russian , The Serbian vision of interwar Yugoslavia was greater Serbia. The Croats longingly remember King Tomislav in the 10th century and developed the habit of skillful, political obstructionism in their struggle to expand Croatian autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian empire. Croats are Catholic and

native speakers say is the same language.

Slovene nationalism 16 more recent, dating from the region.s identity as Illyrian provinces under Napoleon. Slovenes (1.7 million) are Catholic, western, and use the Latin script. At the time of the first and the state, a Slovene and Croat council negotiated Serbi and and the conception did not survive military compulsions. The 1917 Declaration of Corfu—referred to as the Moriginal sin of Yugoslavia by an eminent Slovene political scientist that I interviewed in 1976—1 lected Serbian preference for centralism because Slovenes and Croats needed Serbian military assistance against invadim. Italians.

Not surnrisingly, Slovenes and Croats differ from Serbs in their interpretation of the traumatic collapse of the first Yugaslav state into what for them amounted to a Serbian dictatorship after King Aleksandar disbanned the parliament in 1929. A Croatian underground movement, the Ustasi resisted what many Croats considered occupation of Croatia. Seen by many Croats as a patriotic resistance and by Serbs as fascist terrorists, the Ustasi became the SS of Hitler's puppet Independent Kingdom of Croatia in 1941. Tokenly ruled by an Italian Duke with the title Tomislav II, those fanatic goondas set about forcibly converting the Croatian Serbian minority

Catholicism, enthusiastically attacked Croatian Jews and killed or intimidated those who resisted or Croats who objected to their methods. Serbs fearing genocide fought back, many joining the partisan army as their best chance for survival or retaliation. Thus between Serbs and Croats mutual wartime atrocities left deep scers and little trust to build one.

Dere upgraded (status of "nation" within the family of Yugoslav nations and nationalities: the Montenegrins and Macedonians. Ethnically Serbian, the Montenegrins were those Serbs who retreated to the black mountains and continued to fight for a hundred years after the Turks had captured the Serbian heartland. In their mountain retreat these warrior clans formed an independent theocracy under Prince Negos. They are a nation by historical circumstance rather than ethnic difference in that Montenegrins are Eastern Orthodox, speak (Serbian)

During the partisan national liberation war, Montenegrins came down from the mountains and fought in much larger numbers than their percentage of the population. They earned their nationhood by the sword, paid for in blood.

Conversely, the Macedonian nation reflected Yugoslararegional ambitions. The glory of Alexander of Macedonia had long faded and despite brief attempts mederal Macedonia had never been able to maintain an

Serbia, Sulgaria, and Greece. Notwithstanding, the efforts of the Macedonian revolutionary organization (which at times virtually Lebaniz 1 Bulgaria), there was no widescale Macedonian nationalist movement.

Many languages were spoken in this region, and the dialect that was selected as official Macedonian was chosen because it was the most different from Serbian and Bulgarian rather than because it had the largest number of native speakers. A Macedonian nation, a now 1.3 million Macedonian republic, suited Yugoslav territorial irridenta vis-a-vis Bulgaria and Greece.

The youngest and in someways most anomolous Yugoslav nation is that of the Bosnian Moslems. These are south slava, Serbs and Croats, who were converted by the Turks during the 500 years when the Ottoman ampire dominated the Yugoslav "south". They gradually grew into a recognized nation not so much by official announcement at any time but by incremental changes in the census which by 1961 included a category for "Moslams in and ethnic sense." This change of status came about by a converence of interests between Bosnian Moslams who did not like declaring themselves as either Serbs or Croats, the public policy need to defuse potential Serb-Croat tensions in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the foreign policy goal of influence building among muslim countries in the middle East.

Nationalities are technical distinct ethnic groups that have homelands outside of Yugoslavia or are two small to be seriously considered as a republic unit. Size is a somewhat delicate issue considering the 579,000 Montenegrin nation. In any case, the two Kosovo and Vojvodina autonomous provinces within Serbia / recognize the : position of ((1.7 million) (420,000) the Albanian And Hungarian nationalities respectively. While at the time this undoubted /seemed an appropriate way o contain Serbian historical hegemonic tendencies, these days it is bitterly attacked by many Serbs as a deliberate fragmentation of historic Serbia that must be corrected in post-Tito Yugoslavia. This Serbian insistence on reintegration of the republic runs head on into Kosovar Albanian demands for republic status on the grounds that they are the fastest growing ethnic group and given the declining Slovene birthrate by the next census max are projected to be the third largest ethnic community in Yugoslavia, but that is netting a head of the story.

### Yugoslav Communism and the National Question:

According to Marxist ideology, historical progress is achieved via class struggla. In the wake of the industrial revolution of the mid 19th century, Marx put his faith in the prolatariat as the next standard barers of revolutionary change. He considered nationalism as a weapon of the bourgeoisie to divide the working class. In

sense nationalism is the antithesis of proletarian internationalism destined for the rubbish heap of history, discarded on the road to socialism.

But there is considerable ambiguity introduced by Marx in his distinction between historic nations that contributed to the dialectic of historical progress and unhistoric nations that worked against the tide of historical change. The issue was further muddled by the prophet of proletarian revolution's recognition that revolutions begin in one country and that at the initial stage may indeed be national revolutions. To some degree Marx resolved this inconsistency by his theory of two stage revolutionary process in which a national democratic revolution prepared the economic/political ground: for socialist revolution. Nonetheless, what Iwick calls situational nationalism, left room for a range of interpretations of the proper relationship of class and national identities in socialist society.

From the beginning the Yugoslav Communist - Party saw south slav nationalism as an enemy of party unity and their joint political / economic development. Indeed, this was the first party to take the name Yugoslav in the interwar Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. On assuming power, Yugoslav Communists had national integration among their primary public policy objectives. Party leaders assumed wartime partisan solidarity reinforced by the formal commitment to multinational federalism would buy time while the socialist revolution redirected

Bolshevik leaders before them, the goal was nationalist in form, socialist in content.

However, Lenin and his followers had a much more favorable situation in regard to achieving that goal than their Yugoslav comrades. The Bolsheviks captured a Russian revolution. The domestic power configuration was that of historically powerful Russia at the center of Stalin's nationalist vision of socialism in one country. Socialism in a country equated with russification and allowed Russians to continue to dominate weaker Soviet nations notwithstanding socialist ideology.

The first south slav attempt at state building in 1918 brought together historic nations whose nationalities reflected their experience under very different imperialisms. The shared experience of occupation repression was not amough to overcome their conflicting vasions of the nature of the state they were trying to create, the low level of itical development, and the inability to build viable, all Yugoslav political parties. The collapse of interwar Yugoslavia into what Croats and Slovenes pereceived as a Serbian dictatorship left deep scars. Subsequent atrocities during World War II further inflamed national-ethnic passions. Therefore, whereas Soviet communists could use Russian nationalism as the sword of socialist revolution, Yugoslav Communists inherited a much mession situation.

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Thus for the party leaders attempting to launch the second

ugoslav ship of state in 1945, the national question had several component that had to be dealt with along the road to national integration. First the organization of the new political system had to reflect the multinational nature of Yugoslav society; had to fulfill Tito's promise that the partisan army fought not only against German and Italian occupiers, but for the equality and brotherhood of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. Secondly, in order to over come the legacy of national/ ethnic distrust and fears of Serbian hegemonic aspirations, Serbian nationalism had to be restrainted. The historic vision of greater Serbia had to be replaced with a federation in which non-Serbian nations would not feel they had joined an Orwellian world in which some nations were more equal than others. In short, Serbian nationalism did not function as the engine of Yugoslav socialist revolution, if anything it operated a brake.

Initially the suphoria of victory and setting out to build a sew revolutionary society based on what some scholars have called a revitalized belief system obscured the policy implications of Yugoslav history and national ethnic balance of power. There was no doubt in the mind of Yugoslav party leaders that nationalism was dangerous for the health and development of Socialist Yugoslavia; that ethnic politics should be kept out of the political game. Yet in 1948 the unthinkable happened. The Yugoslavs were expelled from the Cominform and became outcasts from Soviet dominated mainstream international communism.

## Bak with Moscow, 1948

Socialist Yugoslavia emerged from World war II with a revolutionary leadership legitimized by a successful, indigenous national liberation struggle. Notwithstanding allied aid and belated Soviet assistance, the Yugoslav Communist Party had mobilized the partisan army of young, party largely peasant soldiers who became the postwar rank and file. These new recruits had some ten weeks of ideological education under battlefield conditions. They followed the party that led them to victory with little understanding of socialist revolution or what the leaderships' commitment to Soviet development strategies and comrade Stalin meant for Yugoslavia.

Somewhat ironically the Yugoslav Party leadership was not only the most consolidated and revolutionary in Eastern Europe but the most orthodox, the most dedicated the Soviet model of socialist development. The party had made the transition from a small, prewar clandestine organization of some 12,000 members in 1941 to a ruling party of 140,000 in 1945. Securely allied to Moscow, party leaders thought they had a proven path to socialism by following the Soviet example.

Despite devastating losses in human and material resources,

Yugoslavia came out of the war self-confident and self-reliant.

Party and army leaders alike were used to making their own decisions.

This habit of autonomous decision—making put Yugoslav party

leaders at odds with the penetration devices of the Stalinist

interstate system that the Soviets saw as essential to bui ing

East European socialism. Nor did the Yugoslav pertisan army

relish the advise of Soviet military advisers. Further ito's revolutionary regional ambitions conflicted with Moscow's postwar priority of retaining the form, if not the substance, of the grand alliance at least long enough to bring in Western reconstruction aid to help rebuil the war damaged Soviet Union.

For the most part Soviet-Yugoslav differences were tactical aggrevations STemming from Yugoslav resistance to Soviet insensitivity with regard to partisan wartime accomplishments. However, whereas Stalin miscalulated in his boest that he would "shake his little finger" and Tito would fall, the Sex- Dictator was right that his a chority problems with the Yugoslav party com "conceptions different from our own." Ideologically there was a fundamental difference in the Soviet conception of proletarian internationalism as what was good for the Soviet Union the criteria for behavior of other members being genexxerxxnexxnationalxcommunist of the family of socialist nations, and the Yugoklav view that it was time for the Sowiet Godfather in Moscow to pay more attention to the needs of its weaker members. One way of understanding this, is that Moscow conceived of proleterian internationalism as a one way

non-ruling parties to put Soviet policy objectives first. Yugoslav party leaders saw proletarian internationalism as a two-way street; expected Soviet support in their dispute with Italy over the city and that of Trieste, assumed Moscow should actively aid the Greek communists in their ongoing civil war for control of postwar Greece.

Given these differences, the Soviet-Yugoslav split was, perhaps, inevitable in light of Stalin's well documented methods of handling challenges to his control at home and within the interparty arena.

But for the purposes of understanding centre-republic/provincial relations, the causes of the break with Moscow are less important than the consequences. The Yugoslav Communist Party's expulsion from the Cominform and rejection by the Socialist camp not only broke the ideological prism of the party leadership. It rewrote the rules of the political game inside Yugoslavia; radically reordering the political status and style of the dominant party that Professor Wallace emphasizes with respect to Indian centre-state relations.

Once the reality of Stalin's determination to replace

Tito and his supporters with a more manageable Yugoslav party

leadership became inescapable, the Soviet road to socialism

was out of the question. It would have been political suicide.

Indeed, if Yugoslav leaders had any doubts about their own fate,

the furges of accused "Titoists" in other Fast European parties must

have helped reality sink in. Soviet military maneuvers and economic blockade transformed Yugoslav ideological/tactical differences with Stalin into a crises of security and economic development. The party and army neld firm more out of loyalty than conviction. If proletarian internationalism was not love of the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin, What was it? Thus the need for an acceptable ideological/political alternative to the Soviet model of socialist development became a domestic and foreign polery imperative alike.

In their search for such an alternative, Yugoslav theorists reread the young Marx, reevaluated the Paris Communis of 1871 and went off to England to study Fabian socialism. By 1952 these e orts resulted in the theoretical foundations of Yugoslav socialist self-management, a form of participatory socialist pluralism formally accepted at the 6th Party Congress, at this the Yugoslav Communist Party transformed itself into the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The very name upgraded the status of republics and provinces in their relations with the centre. For the federal LCY was expected to Title be approximately accepted and provinces in their relations with the centre. For the federal LCY was expected to Title be approximately accepted to Title be approximately organizations were now basic components of the federal centre, rather than transmission belts for THENTIAL the centre's policies.

dealogical underpinning of this new uncharted road

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what Kardelj called "the pluralism of self-managing interests." It
assumed that along the road to socialism there are contradictions that
must be resolved and many interests that needed to be expressed and
harmonized", brought into some kind of acceptable compromise. In
this process the Communist party was no longer expected to anticipate
the outcome. Rather the party was to work with newly established
self-managing institutions in the economy and local government. In this
way a specific conditions would be taken into account, allowing those
most directly involved to contribute to preative solutions.

Thereby the League of Communists of Yugoslavia transformed its leading role into one of ideological education and guidance. The method of operation was no longer to be Soviet style in which centralized authority had a right to command. Rather party members were to facilitate and persuade their colleagues in the self-managing institutions of the merits of party policy.

These new institutions were expected to provide channels through which the party could mobilize grassroots suppor

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The essential characteristics of Yugoslav self-management were decentralization, debureaucratization, de-etatism (by which it meant the party should get out of the business of enterprise management and the running of public services) and democratization. There were no self-management institutions within the party itself, but the emphasis

was on inner party democracy. Whereas, the party was no longer expected to take sole responsibility for transforming society, it was expected to transform itself.

The LCY explicitly retained .its spatus as an hegemonic party; it monopoly of political organization. However Yugoslav communists had given up their munopoly over political life. There was more than a little confusion over how to exercise an ideological educational role. Many accustomed to giving commands did not like the idea at all . Some grumbled. Others left the party. At the other end of the spectrum, party members fell inactive, There was even talk of the "withering away of the party" into a broader democratic socialism.

Both the emphasis on decentralization/democratization and what was to be the first of periodic identity crises suffered by the perty in its relationship to the proliferating self-managing organs strengthened the role of republic/provincial perty organizations vis-a-vis the Centre.

Moreover, the Yugoslav demand for national roads to socialism and rejection of the Soviet leading role-within the international communist movement also reinforced the emphasis on republics and provinces. The demand for ideological self-determination and socialist pluralism within the Socialist camp logically extended into the demand political dialogue.

Although some scholars insist that Yugoslav political leaders attempted to contain the spillover of self-management into national/ ethnic politics by emphasizing local, communal interests, for this

Yugoslav self-management attempted to establish the foundations of the system on what Liphart has identified as the conditions necessary for consociational democracy, they were not able to bypass regional party organizations along the way. Given the manner in which republics/provinces had been created to reflect the national/ethnic composition ia;
of Yugoslav, to give the nations and nationalities a home base so to speak, this opened the door to ethnic politics. Socialist pluralism via social fragmentation could not prevent what the Centre's own

At first the unintended consequences for centre-republic/provincial relations and for the national question itself were submerged in the sense of all-Yugoslav unity generated by the state of seige that followed the Soviet-Yugoslav split. The Yugoslav leaders were supported as liberator of the country. Party and army held firm against Soviet attempts to get rid of them. Tito became the Yugoslav David holding off a Stalinist golaith. Notwithstanding: \*...the problems of party cohesion symbolized by the Djilas affair and Khrushchev's flattering efforts to make amends with Belgrade, Soviet insistence on Moscows leading role in their effort to reestablish control after the Hungarian uprising and Polish October of 1956, ruled out rapprochement.

Furious at Soviet duplicity, the 1958 LCY Party Program openly attacked Soviet style socialism and reaffirmed the Yugoslav commitment

to socialist pluraism, democratization, and self-managing institutions as the infrastructure of truly Marxist participatory socialism: the answer to alienation and exploitation created by Soviet etatism This ideological reaffirmation flowed from the compulsions of XNR polemics with Moscow. It gained economic impetus in the early 1960s as initial economic successes created demands for further modernization. Economists argued that Yugoslavia must take a great leap ...to mannaisx international economic waters. That the economy would not sink; that Yugoslav currency could become convertible, there by opening the way to integration . international economic system. Thus perceived opportunities offered by the international political economy became a campaign to extend self-management in the direction of market socialism. These arguements were spelled out in the debates that swirled around the economic reforms of 1965. And in these heated exchanges, it became clear that the national question for Yugoslav policy makers had become how to contain republic centered economic nationalism. "Restructuring" the Economy, 1965

Long before Mikhail Gorbachev embarked on perestroika, Yugoslav economists and party leaders struggled to overhaul the country's still largely command economy. Much like the forces for reform in the Soviet Union, Yugoslav reformers had a felt need to improve their position in the increasingly interdependent international economy so as to .

benefit from the 20th century scientific—technical revolution. There are lessons in the Yugosiav experience for Soviet-East European reformers. Today as in the 1960s resistance to reform is generated by unequal distribution of the benefits and burdens of change. Hopes and fears of political consequences get tangled in economic criteria. The momentum of reform radicalizes and factionalizes its supporters, brings new players into the political game, while increasing the opnosition of those who will lose power, priviledge or economic security under the new rules.

In the early 1960s the Yugoslav economy appeared deceptively healthy. For reasons not entirely clear and certainly not agreed upon, an economic boom had taken place during the first decade of self-management. Economists from the more successful sectors of the economy became impatient. They argued that the ratio of principle to practice amounted to tokenism in the campaign for market socialism. In their view, the time had come to truly reward initiative and enterpreneurship. Enterprises that could not make a profit should go out of business. Then modernization of the economy would steam shead assisted by organization theory and advanced technology; paid for by exports to an international market.

This move to switch from a broad-gaged, labor intensive development strategy to capital intensive, selective development required abandoning egalitarian as a guideline. For individuals there would be differential rewards keyed to skill and productivity. The commitment to equalize the economic level of republics and provinces would be postponed for the

of all-Yugoslav economic growth. Those republics/provinces with a strong economic base would grow stronger. The weak would slide further behind. Weak anterprises would either shape up or go bankrupt.

Opponents of selective development roughly followed the dividing line between winners and losers among the regional players. However, a political factor—prevented what otherwise might have been a clean "north-south" split. Such a restructuring of the economy would substantially increase the geonomic and political autonomy of republic/ provincial party organizations. This provided cross-cutting cleavages in support of change, dividing the opposition. An alliance formed between economic reformers in the "north", managerial-technical elites in strongs—anterprises irrespective of territorial considerations, and republic/ provincial politicians, whose instinct for power overcame their economic reservations. Advocates of party democratization and a more liberal cultural policy got on the reform bandwagon as well.

 of business.

The reformers turned a deaf ear. Rarty Central party leaders,

even Tito personally came out in favor of "real" market socialism.

Yet no sooner than they were adopted, the 1965/bogged down in bitter

political struggle. At the Centre those who resisted implementing

the Serbian,

reforms were led by Aleksandar Rankovic, head of the security forces.

Rankovic also headed the veteran's union worried about possible decentralization of their pension funds. Notwithstanding his partisan credentials and presumed edge among those considered Tito's likely successors, he was forced into early retirement after a bizzare recort of bugging Tito's personal premises and what appears to have been byzantine maneuvers on the part of the Croatian head of army intelligence.

The reforms went forward only to run into what Marxists would call "objective" reality. The economy did not take off as predicted. Unemployment skyrocketed. External conditions became less favorable. Unatever the merits of their ideological arguements, the opposition had been right about the consequences for the economy.

Unemployment could be alleviated by allowing Yugoslav workers to join the ranks of south European / middle eastern gasterbeiter in Western Europe. This helped. It did not contain the growing resentment of economic hardship in the depressed sectors or discontent caused by evident inequalities. For prewar communists the symbols of market socialist such as the Dior Store in downtown Belgrade were an insult.

Inese growing tensions crystalized into a challenge from the left that accused the Party of having lost its ideological center. Ideologically this took the form of criticism by the Praxis group of Marxist humanists whose objections went beyond the official tolerance for inner party democracy. The almost viseral anger of those who were being left behind found its voice in a much more recognizable tactic in the Indian context—the massive Belgrade student strike of 1968.

Sparked by heavy-handed police efforts to break up crowdy of students gathered & for antertainment not politics, the strike rapidly became political. The students demanded more genuine democratization of party life, less corruption, a return to socialist morality. They wanted jobs for Yugoslavs at home; to stop the flow of skilled workers out of the country. When it came to managerial hiring, they wanted the criteria to be technical know-how not political connections or partisan credentials.

whatever the inconsistencies of simultaneously demanding egalitarianism and liberalization, the student strike revealed the ideological/ economic contradictions of market socialism. It also pointed to the problems created by the age homogeniety of the partisan generation of political leaders. This club of 1941 had become a bottleneck to political power. There was no substitute for naving fought in the national liberation struggle as an initiation rite and

or more at the top of the olitical totem poll before they made room for the university Educated generations of party cadre waiting impatiently for positions of power. This generational tension was at the heart of the party's weakness when it came to political socialization. It did not cause, but certainly exacerbated, the dilemmas are along the road to market socialism.

After a week of tense standoff, Tito upstaged the Belgrade party leadership. He brilliantly coopted the students; acknowledged their criticisms and appealed to them to help him revitalize the party.

In the meantime, of course, the students were to return to less exciting world of classrooms and examinations.

Just what route such party renewal might have taken, what it would have meant in terms of the battle lines drawn over market socialism never became clear. For before the university reopened in the fall, "allied socialist" soldiers marched into Czechoslovakia to put an end to Alexander Dubcek's search for socialism with a human face. As in 1958 the complusions of perceived external threat papered—over deepening ideological/economic conflicts. The acrimonious polemics centering on implementation of the 1965 reform fell silent. Students joined the party in large numbers. There was a feeling of solidarity, the illusion of party cohesion.

In these circumstances, the centre appeared once again legitimized as the defender of Yugoslavia. National differences over economic policy appeared contained. The answer to the national question appeared self-evident. Survival required hanging together. Tito, prematurely, announced that the national question had been solved. Based on that false optimism, he then set out to stage-manage his own success in a manner that unintentionally <code>kegx</code> dramatically escalated historically conflicting south slav national/syms.

## The Constitutional Amendments of 1971 and Croatian Crisis:

The idea of a rotating, collective leadership first appeared in the constitutional amendments of 1971. Indeed, these amendments amounted to a rewriting of the centre-republic/provincial relationship in which to the amazement of many the centre appeared to almost wither away. Central politicians retained power over foreign policy, defence, and an undefined—virtually nonexistent—united market. All other public policy dec ions devolved to the regional party /government organizations. In this fashion the constitutional component of centre-state relations operated in the opposite direction from that of that as the Indian constitution and wallace demonstrated has played a centralizing role. In the Yugoslav context constitutional adjustments became the vehicle for demands for ever greater decentralization in the name of participatory federalism.

Foreign policy security compulsions had combined with the logic

and bad nationalism in the Yugoslav context. There was ambiguity as to what was and was not permissable in interrepublic and republic-centre maneuvering. At time the centre appeared paralyzed; at times it gave what amounted to its political bless to national activity as a counter to the chahlege from the left. In this atmosphere class and national interests came to appear more compatible, Public defence of national interests was no longer categorically rejected as national chauvinism.

Regional politicians openly pressed for national self-determination as a principle of Yugoslaw domestic politics as well as of Yugoslaw nonaligned foreign policy. They challenged the submerging of national identities in working class priorities as defined by the federal party. In some cases this came perilously close to questioning the right of the federal party to exist. As the then head of the Croatian Central Committee ideological commission put it:

There cannot be a federation of equal selfmanaging communities, if there are no possibilities for formation of the League of Communists both on the class and national basis. 20

The rise of the Croatian mass national movement was reintroduced spontaneous ethnic politics into the political equation of centre-regional relations. That was the last thing Tito had in mind.

Nonetheless, it was a logical consequence of his own public policy in which centre virtually abdicated responsibility as a prelude to

transition to post-Tito Yugoslavia. In his effort to control the dynamics of eventual succession, Tito himself radically weakened the centre and reinforced those who were "nationalistically minded" within regional party organizations. His miscalculation changed the style of the dominant party; moving 180 degrees from the Lepinist notion of democratic centralism which requires vertical organization and , most of all, a functioning centre.

Moreover, Tito's own responses were amt. Palent. Notwithstanding subsequent reports of his stern warnings to the Croatian party leaders in July, when Tito went to Zagreb in September his public statements appeared to support the Croatian party view that they had the situation under control. In these circumstances, Croatian may well have politicians continued to push their demands under the assumption that this was appropriate, in-system behavior whether the Croatian mass movement captured the Croatian party leadership or whether that leadership miscalculated by using popular support in its struggle to expand republic autonomy and control over the foreign currency generated by Croatian exports and tourism, the end result was the same. Spontaneous ethnic politics became a factor in interrepublic and centre-republic relations.

The Croatian party itself became factionalized. Those who objected appealed to Tito personally to intervene. A poll taken

of internal nationalism. Retired generals warned of counter-revolutionary tendencies. In November the Zagreb student strike tipped the scales.

Tito himself warned against counter-revolution and reminded those communists who were "nationalistically minded", that the Yugoslav peoples Army would defend the revolution internally if need be as well as at the border.

The purge of the offending Croatian party leaders -- tactlessly at a meeting held in Karadjordjevo, the hunting lodge of Serbian kings--was the first step in what is sometimes called Tito's cultural revolution. This was a move To stem the centrifugal forces set in motion by the aborted constitutional amendments of 1971. Tito expanded his campaign to include autonomous, popular politicians throughout the republics and autonomous provinces; to put an end to increasingly independent regional party organizations and to reestablish central control in the form of streamlined, united federal party. In essence this is analogous to the 1969 split in the Congress Party in terms of the centre-state dynamic, although Tito was more secure in his personal authority than Mrs. Candhi. This can be seen as a a move to reconsolidate central power against the of regional leaderships seeking greater authority and attempting to change the centre-republic balance of power.

In the context of this recentralizing swing of the political

Julum that Western scholars prematurely called a "return to eninism", the Constitution of 1974 put in place the infrastructure of post-Tito Yugoslavia. Tito was assured of his position as president of the party and the country for life. He would be followed by collective, rotating party and state presidencies . (Figure ). This was a republic/provincial division of power with one functional component in that the party organization in the Armed Forces was also represented in the LCY presidency and had representation on the Central Committee equal to that of an autonomous province. Regional party organizations would have regular, predictable access to central institutions. The assumption was that the federal party, i.e. a united centre, would continue to have the leading role in policymaking, while the equal nature of regional participation would provide maximum pressure for implementation.

At the same time a new layer of self-managing institutions in the form of Basic Organizations of Associated Labor (BOALs) was set up to counter the development of monopolies and further guard against political meddling in the economy. In the atmosphere of the time the fact that the officially tough-minded Constitution of 1974 largely retained the centre-republic relationship spelled out in the offending amendments of 1971 went almost unnoticed. Notwithstanding the effort to increase communal (in the sense of local attentional units) authority as

political, social, and fiscal powers.

While Tito continued to navigate the ship of state, the implications this upgraded republic/provincial status were not apparent.

Tito personally brokered regional conflicts as he had always done.

He largely ignored the shift of the centralization—decentralization bendulum away from the centre at the 1978 eleventh Party Congress that reaffirmed the 1958 Party Program and emphasized Kardelj's "pluralism of self-managing interests". The personal adulation for the godfather of Yugoslav communism that marked in congress obscured his organizational defeat. Power had not centralized at the top of the party in his handpicked executive bureau. It had gone down to the Central Committee still very much a reflection of republic/provincial priorities.

Thus while Tito retained his veto power until he died, he could determine the form but not the substance of the colitical party he left behind. Moreover, the foreign policy compulsion of the Yugoslav leader's duel with Fidel Castro over the authentic principles of nonalignment and the relationship of NAM to the socialist countries preoccupied him. At home he continued his effort to assure his place in history. In post-Tito Yugoslavia there would be no room for flamboyant, charismatic authority on the merry-go-round of

collective leadership.

The Titoist Solution:

To be fair since there was no acceptable successor among the remaining members of the "Club of 1941" or in relatively unknown regional politicians in his shadow, Tito was right. The best that

could be noped for was an agreed upon political mechanism. His energy to contain was spent constructing a political solution national/ethnic,

territorial bureaucratic conflict.

The post-Tito Yugoslav collective leadership is a complex, cumbersome political machine. This is a carefully regulated balance of power among r ional party organizations that control who represents them at the centre in party and government alike. At the centre formal separation of party and state presidencies was blurred by having the party president serve as an exofficio member of the state presidency.

(See Figure ). This remaining vestige of overlapping leadership is done away with in the currently pending constitutional amendments.

In the world. The party itself is federalized so that there are 10 major political players to consider: 8 republic/provincial territorial party organizations, and 2 representing the centre—the federal party and the party organization in the Yugoslav Peoples Army. Territorial/ethnic reservations golicy (translated key from the Serbo-Croat) applies to political jobs at all levels. Rapid rotation schedules of leading posts

cadre job continuity in practice. Interrepublic/provincial consensus

This solution had the advantage of minimizing factional struggle at the top of the party. No winner could take all. Each the regional party organizations and the army party organization knew the size of their piece of the political pie. The territorial organizations knew that their turn would come at The top. (The army organization was left out of the rotation schedule for top party/government positions).

The unintended consequence of this diffusion of power was what it critics have come to call "parcelization" of authority. This strengthened regional rivals for federal power and rehabilitated ethnic popularism as their political support bases. Thereby the number of Unofficial political actors expanded, as a corollary the unpredictability-risk factor increased in the interrepublic/provincial and centre-regional political game.

The Titoi t solution was legitimized by virtue of being Titoist.

Tito was a living memory, a still forceful voice for Yugoslav unity.

I returned to Belgrade from Delhi in May 1981 just before the first posthumous celebration of Tito's birthday. Teenagers marched in Tito T-shirts. Buses travelled between Yugoslav cities painted with signs we are guarding Tito's way". Tito's picture blessed the wedding tent in a South Serbian village. The afterglow of Tito's personality cul-

mmed up in the slogan -- "After Tito--Tito".

That was wishful thinking. Tito embodied the myth of partisan solidarity, arbitrated student strik s, resolved ethnic crises, whipped regional party leaders into line behind the centre. He was the lost living stateman of World War II; the only living architect of nonalignment. Tito symbolized Yugoslavia on a world stage. He was larger than life. Like the Indian banyan tree, he dwarfed other political leaders in his shadow. There was more than a little truth to the joke that Yugoslavia was a state the size of Wyoming with a personality cult the size of China.

There was no substitute for Tito's charismatic authority. It was absurd to expect the merry-go-round of collective leadership to produce one. Indeed, Tito had set out to put in place a mechanism, to prevent the search for a replacement, for a Tito look alike.

This left post-Tito politicians at the centre in an uncomfortable vice. Their own jobs were a product of the strength of the Tito myth. They could not compete with his management style, and they desperately needed to cultivate the afterglow of his memory. Tito was the foundation of post-Tito Yugoslavia--politically.

Unfortunately, in his concern to prevent destructive political infighting, Tito had forgotten or ignored the Marxist principle that politics is a function of economic relations. He was a superb politician and a lousey economist. Nor would he listen to the advise of his

to uncoordinated borrowing from Western banks and governments. Like the French royalty before the revolution, Tito looked the other way. Thus when he died Tito left his successors a 20 billion dollar Western debt and the Yugoslav economy standing on glass legs.

Understandably post-Tito party leaders did not want to be held responsible for those domestic investment strategies or having piled up the debt that hung about their necks like the proverbial Albatross. But politically they could not afford to attack Tito's economic policies, or even point out directly that they were the Godfather's doing.

The timid efforts to dixexpize themselves from previous economic mismanagement did not work. From the point of view of the ordinary Yugoslav everything had been better in Tito's Yugoslavia.

When he died, their standard of living began a steady downhill course, and the price of everything went up. There was no reassuring political leader to identify with. Collective leadership even deprived them of someone to blame. No one and everyone was responsible.

Not surprisingly, the centre suffered the brunt of this backlash.

The federal party steadily declined in public confidence, while regional politicians became defenders of regional economic advantage.

to a NIN poll at the time of the LCY 13th Party Congress in 1986 of some 4,500 respondents 73 per cent thought the party had been fulfilling its leading social/political role "inadequately, barely, Given that inflation has continued to climb to an official 290 percent, if that poll were repeated in 1989, the results would likely be even less encouraging to the centre, Yugoslav federal politicians are unappreciated, disheartened, and --if Prime Minister Branko Mikulic December 30, 1988 resignation is any indication -- ready to book for another job. In and outside of Yugoslavia it seemed to many that the Titoist solution had set off a run-a-way decentralization; that the party/government centre had withered away. For some the lesson of the Yugoslav experiment was a vindication of centralized, centre dominant federalism. Yet in my view the evidence is not in, and based on what is available that judgement is at best premature.

### Wonclusions:

Town separate the rhetoric of politics from political reality requires benchmarks. For ten years before Tito died speculation on "after Tito" ranged from collapse into ethnic civil war, a military coup, or Soviet domination. In 1989 the answer is none of the above.

Notwithstanding their weaknesses, the collective leadership survived the transition from 35 years of political dependency on a charismatic

machinery that it had inherited from grinding to a halt. Along with self-criticism and breast beating at the 13th LCY Congress in 1986, the delegates elected a Central Committee with 127 new members out of 165. All but four members of the party presidency were replaced. The average age of the new presidium was roughly 50; of the Central Committee members, mid 40s. Thus, the generational transition from the "Club of 1941" has proceeded smoothly, almost unnoticed. Moreover, sepite the increasingly sectarian tone of interrepublic/provincial politics, for the most part rotation schedules have been routinely observed.

As for the economy, the economic record of collective leadership is not as had as it looks to their alienated constituents who have to pay up after decades of living beyond their means. The post-Tito leadership put in place an unpopular austerity program and made enough progress to come out from under six years of IMF supervision. That prime minister mixulic dissipated much of the advantage he took office with does not negate that accomplishment. Mixulic did not live up to his reputation. It is not a sign of system. collapse, however, for a prime minister to resign. A fundamental principle of democracy as Harry Truman would have said is for those who can't take the heat to get out of the kitchen.

Measured against other countries caught in the trap of international indebtedness, Yugoslavia has shown some economic progress and perhaps

devaluation between 1980 and 1986, the unfavorable balance of trade had been cut back to less than 1/4 of what they inherited. In 1988 foreign currency reserves were up, and exports had continued to increase especially with industrialized countries. The Western debt has oscillated at around 20 billion dollars which is light years ahead of the Polish economy. The Polish debt grew from 26 billion in 1980 to a reported 36 billion over the same eight Year period. Whatever the costs of collective leadership, it is evidently not as costly as martial law and militarization of the Polish United Workers Party.

The Yugoslav system has mechanisms for putting in temporary economic measures without unanimous republic provincial approval. Take for example the centralizing foreign currency laws of 1985 that went into force over determined troat and Stovene opposition. Censensus had not amounted to political paralysis. It has slowed government ability to act, not frozen it.

If we compare this record to the last years of the Tito era that many Yugoslavs look back to so longingly, centralized power did not prevent Tito from making the wrong economic decisions or bring about implementation of unpopular economic reforms that had they come in time would have spared the country much of its current economic anquish. For all his authority Tito could or would not push through the restructuring required for market socialism in the 1960s. Nor could be

fact is that post-Tito collective leadership has grapoled with conflicting economic priorities and faced tough choices that Tito refused to confront.

This is not to defend continuing poor investment strategies or the corruption symbolized by the AGROKOMEC scandal. But whatever his weaknesses the former prime minister is right that the central government's inability to control run-away inflation is as much due to the unwillingness of regional party leaders and powerful enterprises to play by the rules of economic stabilization as to lack of decisiveness at the centre. However, even if all Yugoslavia political players accepted those rules, the Yugoslavia economy would continue to be buffeted by international economic cyles over which Yugoslav centre and regional politicians have no control. The IMF imposed austerity programs, that come as the price of the international monetary fund's periodic rescue packages, will continue keep wages lagging behind steadily rising prices. Small medium-sized, debt-ridden countries are not masters of their fate in the political economy of the 1980

Currently Yugoslavia is locked in an increasingly sectarian/ bureaucrat.

struggle

territorial strugg among those who want to overhaul the Titoist solution

and those who want to abandon it. The national/ethnic passions cloud the

underlying economic reality. With or without the Titoist solution, central

ized or decentralized, Yugoslav politicians have limited economic options.

And from the perspective of economic hardships imposed on the population,

pushing ahead with the reforms will make their situation worse--no one knows

for long--before it gets better.

Popular anger at the failure to implement the 1983 economic stabilization program is understandable but targeted in the wrong direction. The drive for market socialism in the 1980s ran into the same buzz saw of conflicting priorities that cut off the economic reform of 1965. Only in the context of the Titoist solution, the republic/provincial leaders had virtually everything demanded by the Croatian mass movement—the 1970s. There was no reason for regional politicians to accept economic disadvantage for political gains vis-a-vis an already weakened centre. Indeed, in the deepening politics of scarcity, there was every reason to defend one's own economic turf.

In these circumstances, economic nationalism inevitably exaceroated Albanian and Serb-Montenegrin tensions in the Kosovo autonomous province where Kosovar Albanians have become the majority of the population and some 55 percent of young men in their late teens and twenties are unemployed. The Serbian viseral backlash is understandable. And these days the national question in practice boils down to what do to protect the physical security of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo with out making Kosovar Albanians second class citizens in YugosTavia.

This is a painful, complicated issue. Obviously the centre did not have a solution. It delayed. It waffled. Nonetheless it moderated

the dialogue going. Kosovo is clearly a flashpoint. No one can say what will happen if the Serbian contitutional amendments limiting provincial autonomy are inacted, although it is clear that Serbian nationalism will reach a danger pitch if they are not. Nonetheless, for eight years the decentralized Yucoslav system has contained the Kosovo situation — Kosovo is not plagued with terrorism. It is not Lebanon, Northern Ireland or even Punjab.

In foreign policy the decentralized collective leadership has maintained Yugoslav standing in the nonaligned movement. It has maintained westerm Chedits without giving up Yugoslavia's independent political judgement and expanded trade with the East. In fairness we should remember that during Tito's lifetime foreign policy compulsions worked to \$trenghen the centre. Gorbachev's campaign for perestroika and glasnost resemble the Yugoslav alternative and in no sense provide a unifying external threat. These days the most sensitive Soviet-Yugoslav issue is some 2 billion dollars worth of avorable balance of trade that the Yugoslavs consider amount to a debt and want Moscow to pay up.

The accomplishments of post-Tito collective leadership are unlikely to give much comfort to their increasingly alienated constituencies whose negative reaction correlates with their

Ante Markovic can use the breathing space of the recent debt consolidation in which 23 rather than 40 percent of Vugoslav hard currency goes to debt servicing to put together an economic package of reforms that gives Yugoslav workers and families some relief.

In post-Tito Yugoslavia centre bashing has become a national sport. It is not an answer. Regional politicians must realize that like it or not, they won. The balance of power has shifted to the republics and provinces. With that victory comes responsibilities. It is the republic/provincial politicians who hold the key to whatever economic stabilization is possible. The centre can only be as strong as they allow, as decisive as their willingness to implement agreed upon measures even when it hurts. Constitutional amendments can help, they are not enough.

The official economy can not become productive unless regional politicians cooperate to get the grey economy under control. This requires defusing the atmosphere of polemical charges and countercharges. It requires backing off from treating interrepublic relations like a soccer match.

Yugoslavs like Indians are demanding a government that works.

Yugoslav centre and regional politicans alike have to face up to

the fact their citizens want bread, not political circuses. In the

180s, for Yugoslavs as for most other political systems, the political legitimacy of whereever the barometer of centre-state power settles will be measured by performance.

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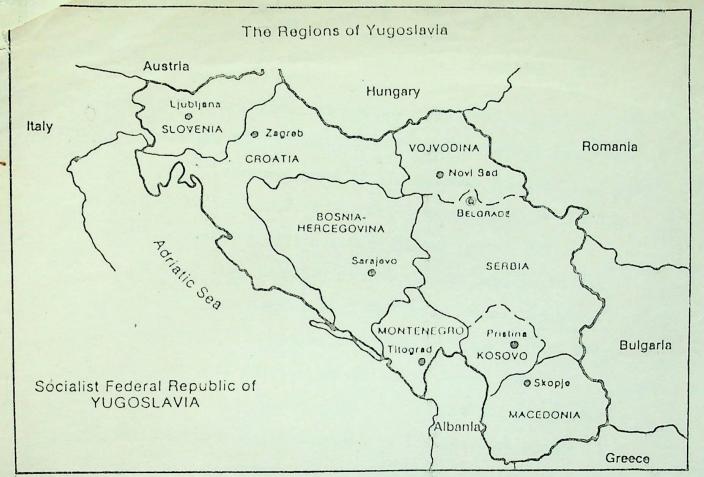
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Republics: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedelnia Autonomous Provinces: Vojvodina and Kosovo, both located in the Republic of Serbia

#### ETHNIC GROUPS IN YUGOSLAVIA, 1987

Nationality	Nwnber (thousands)	Percentage of total
0.1	8,140,452	34.9
Serbs		
Croats	4,428,(x)5	19.0
Slovenes	1.753,554	7.5
Macedonians	1.339,729	5.7
Montenegrins	579,023	2.5
Moslems	1.999.057	8.6
Yugoslavs	1,219,045	5.2
Albanian	1,730,361	1.4
Hungarians ·	426,866	1.8
Turks	101,191	0.4
Slovaks	80,334	0.3
Romanians	54,954	0.2
Ruthenes	23,285	0.1
Bulgars	36,185	0.2
Italians	15.132	0.1
Czechs	19,625	0.1
Others and unidentified	1,407,299	6.0
Total	23, 155,(XX)	100.0

Sources Figures were calculated on the basis of nationality distribution given in [Yugoslavia], Statisticki godisnjak Jugoslavia [1987] (Belgrade, 1987), p. 449, which came from the 1981 census

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Statement issued by L. Dirga Dass Verma, General Secretary,

Dated 30th November, 1952.

The November 29th, statement of Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad, is deplorable. The accussations levelled against Parishad are a part of the old fraud of the present rulersof the state to mislead Indian public opinion and secure support for the Republican Kashmir within Indian Union.

To say that Parishad movement "will only serve the interest of the enemies of state" and "weaken the state ties with India" is not only featable. And beyond the understanding of every right-thinking person. How contradictory and paradoxical, it is that the government of which Bakhshi Gulam Mohammad is an important mouthpiece, while denouncing us as reactions, communalists and agents of Pakistan, simply because we have been incessantly clanning for the most application of the most secular constitution of the world, swears a hollow loyalty in the same constitution.

with communal forces of India and the pro-Pakistan block in the U.N.O. tune which we have burried long since. The present movement gives a lie direct to these charges.

The truth is that our life and death struggle for the last five years against the sinster designer of the party in power to keep the state independent of any Bhartya control, has fully exposed, its much taken of and so-called pro-Indian professions.

tyago

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Minister to the effect that the "states accession with India is complete" and that the Union flag shall enjoy the highiest place of honour", If he is honest and sincere, he should prove his bonafides by accepting our new point of complete and unconditional accession with Bharat and the application of entire Indian's sedular Constitution to the state or else stop levelling indecent charges, which have not even a grain of truth in them.

(Durga Dass Verma)

GENERAL SECRETARY, ALL JAMMU & KASHMIR PRAJA PARISHAD, JAMMU. She hundred and fifty seven Praja Farished etyagralies were released from Spinager jail on Ist of the tat 7 P.M. Seven satyagrahies in that jail have not yet been released. They have been wigg singled out because they protested against some derogatory remarks against the Parishad and its leaders by the Deputy Superintendent of the jail. Prominent among those released are Shree Shyam Lal Sharma Organizing Secretary Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad, Thadur Raghumath Singh Samyal, the famour Dogra poet and Shri Mulk Raj Advocate of Samba.

The released satyagrahies were sent to Jammu on the State transport buses without any police escort. At Dalgate an organized attack with stones and acid bottles was made on the buses carrying satyagrahies by big mob which had been collected there. As a result more than a dozen satyagrahies received injuries. This news has created great resentment in Jammu. The satyagrahies were also not given bus fare for their their respective home places. The satyagrahies on their arrival in Jammu were received by Pt. Prem Nath Dogra and a large number of other Parishad workers and citizens of Jammu at the Ambphala Octroi Post.

It is learnt from the satyagrahies that they were badly mal-treated in jail. A number of them were mercilessly beaten just on the eve of their release.

The General Secretary of the Parishad has sent telegram protesting against this treatment to released satyagrahies to Pt. Nehru, Dr. Katju and Sheikh Abdullah and Bakshi Gulam Mohamed.

Publicity Secretary,

All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad

Jammu.

1-3-52

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# ALL JAMNU & KASHNIR PRAJA PARISHAD NOTE TO P.T. 2

No.

Dated 1st December 1952.

Sir,

The Anti-Democratic altitude adopted by the Covernment of Jammu and Kashmir in suppressing the national and psychological aspiration of the State People to be are with India, like other integral parts of the Union, is too well known to need any further comment. But, the altitude of the Indian Presses, particularly which has constantly given prominence to the official version of the present movement of the Parishad, is highly unfortunate.

The P.T.I special representative, who has been specially lead by the Covernment in an palatial bungalow here in Jammu, is constantly endeavouring to paint the Parished movement according to the dictates of the Press Information Bureau of the State. As a result, the whole responsible Press of India is mislead to the determent of the Country's interests as a whole.

of the Popular determination to affect the unconditional accession of the State with India and thus line its fate, with the rest of Bharat. The sufferings and sacrifices that we have insisted, is, the result of the utter disregard and indifference to our aforesaid charished desire on the part of Covernment of India, which is reserving no pains to boost up the Sheikh Abdullah's fancing of the restricted accession, for reason best known to the Government of

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Should so feel helpless and thus yield to the recent sinster decisions of the Kashmir Conseably, which are in exact concurrence with the Nehru-Abdullah feet, it will represent the greatest political blunder ever made in discuss by a self respecting nature. These decisions are equally a challenge to the Indian integrity and are likely to Maluncation of India, in course of time.

The present fight, is therefore, as much of Indians as it is of the unfortunate state People. So it is the patriotic duty of every Indian to extend all possible help to this struggle.

In all humility, I request you on the fair name of journalism to depict Fraja Parishad movement in its true colours.

we are given to understand that your special correspondent is arriving here. In this connection I forwarently appeal you to instruct him not to remain a Covernment great, instead seek information from the General Public and read the pulse of the masses. This will be real service to the cause of Indian Unity.

JAI BHAWIT

Sincerely yours,

( Darga Las Verma )
GZN SHAL SECRATARY,
ALL JAMMU & KASHETR PRAJA PAHLSHAD,
J A M M U.

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----espondence wit of

Satyagrah was organised on the issues that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah minimised the State in the name of secularism, that there was utilitarianism in the name of democracy; that Civil liberties had been crushed; that efforts were being made for carving an independent Kashmir; that Delhi was a betrayal and that situation was developing into such a direction as would elevate the State to the status of a sovereign State, with its independence guaranteed by the people's Republic of China and the USSR, besides India and The other issues raised up against Sheikh Abdumhah related to the gerimendering of Hindu majority areas for . election purposes; making urdu compulsory subject for all, distribution of key posts among Muslims and sacrificing the interests of non-Muslims. The Sheikh Abdullah was, therefore, charged with anti-national tendencies, taking away Kashmir from Even one of his cabinet Ministers Sham Lal Saraft was encouraged to oppose Sheikh Abdullah for his making highly inflamable public speeches and for authoritarian attitude in the Cabinet. He resigned from the Cabinet saying that "I hold my post as a trust from the people, especially the minority communities, to which I happen to belong, and it becomes my duty not to betray this trust at a moment of crisis.

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# GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY, AMRITSAR. 193

the All J+K Plaja parishad, however, ingh lighted the problems of Jammm Province of made following deniands to the Hill Ht.

The state Grovt in 1952:

982 196

- 1. Constituent Assembly should pass a resolution for Constitution and application of Indian Constitution to the State.
- Delhi Pact to be implemented as carly as possible. Surisdiction of the Supreme Court.
  - 3. Abolition of Custom duties.
  - 4. Financial Integration.
  - 5. Abolition of Permit system.
  - 6. Enquiry into the circumstances leading to the death of Dr. S.P. Mukerjee.
  - 7. Five year plan for the State. ?
  - 8. Jamru Province to share equally in the Five Year Development Plan, and its implementation with our consultation.
  - 9. Representation in the Parliament and Re-election in the State. At least by- elections for Jam u Province.
- 10. Abolition of Revenue Boards- Corrupt and incapable partisons administering Justice.
- 11. Praja Parichad must be taken into confidence in every matter to avoid controversies and contradictions and to inspire confidence and co-operative.
- 12. Polce and Magistracy should be independent and impartial and free from undue influence of the Political Parties espacially the party in Power.
- ib. Judiciary needs to be pulled to move more swiftly because justice delayd is justice denied. Present state of affairs causing greatest inconvenience to the scekers of justice. Cases pending for years to-gether in different courts.

# PROBLEMS GONCERNING AGITATION

- 1. The cases pending against parished workers should be with discuss forth with irrespective of the fact whether they perlain to alleged violence or not.
- 2. Appeals pending in selsion courts orders semitting sentences and fine to be passed.
- 3. Attached profeshies sold or lying in police Thanas to be released. profeshies anctioned to be restored to Their owners
- 4. Fines sets realized to be refunded and losses to be
- 5. compensated.

  5. compensation to all political sufferers including berelved families of Two killed in the firms and also Those injurised and randered in eapable

to eccupe-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

- 7. Disqualifications both in electrons or services due to conviction in agilatron should be removed.
  - 8. All licenses concelled to be restored, arms, transport, cloth,
  - 9. An enquiry commission with a judge of Some Indian High court to enquire into Cases of excesses boot, corruption and raple.

## MISCELLANEOUS PROVINCIAL PROBLEMS,

- 1. Panchayat system for the fair and cheap Justice be introduced. Village Numberdars and Zaildars to be elected.
- 2. Revenue Boards to be abolished immediately as men of ability and experience and that of representative character have not been included in them.
- 3. People settled on bourder areas to be given sufficient number of rigles and ammunition. Those who have been deprived of such rifles should be again supplied to protect there kith, kin and cattle.
- 4. Water tax to be reduced. Water works Machinary and Electric plants to be replaced by new machinery.
- 5. Trrigation tax which was increased 500 times in some cases and doubled in other cases by Abdullah Regime be brought to the previous level.
- 6. Another B.T College to be established in Jammu. This was originally started in Jammu College but later shifted to Srinagar without any justification.
- 7. Infiltration to be stopped once for ever.
- 8. Colleges in the District Towns like Kathue, Rujouri and Udhampur to be opened. One more should be started in Jammu.
- 9. Services, Scholarships for higher studies to be given on merit. Public service Commission to be established. Recruitment on consideration other than merit to be stopped.
- 10. Arms and ammunition distributed by Col. Adalat Khan Military Administrative in Doda District to Muslims to be taken back as it is not bourder area.

### 11. REFUGEES.

- a. All women and children still in the hands of the enemy (Pakistan) be recovered. Speed so far adopted to be doubled to remove constant heart burningh. Government level pressume to be exercised.
- b. All refugees to be registered. Their claims to be scrutinized as has been done in India. They should be duly compensated and till that happens no rent be charged from them for the Evacuee Property in their possession.
- c. Widows and orphans to be educated. Works for them in the Work Centres to be provided to enable them to live an hounourable life.
- d. Invalid, old nd destitutes to be given cash doles and rations for the life time.
- e. Non- Liberated area people to be rehabilitated in colonics and liberated area people to be given loans for constructions of their houses and for re-starting their lives.
- f. Jammu District border area people other than agriculturist be given arms and ammunition.

## LOCAL AND INDIVIDUAL CASES CONCERNING ACTIVATI AND OTHERS.

- 1. Pensions of Parishad leaders -- Pandit Pre Nath Dograv.
  Th. Dhananter Singh and Th. Raghuneth Singh to be released forthwith.
- 2. Ban on the entry of Indian papers, Pratap, Hindu, Organiser Hind Samachar and Vilap and on issue of Swadesh local paper to be removed.
- 3. Restriction on the entry of K. Vishno Gupta and Shri Mahash Chandra to be removed.
- 4. Districts in original position to be restored and distribution of areas to be re-adjusted.
- 5. State vrs. Dodn Raj and other pending in the Court of Sub- Registrar Jammu and state vrs. Natha Singh a case under section 28/02 Deferce Rules pendingin the Court of Sub- Judge Bhadarwah to be withdrawn
- 6. Tawan- a sort of fine imposed on the people of Mathu Tehsil Akhnoor for the breach in the Canal rules amounting to Rs. 470/- to be remitted.
- 7. The property including Re. 800/- in cash on automobile, two bicycles and other household equipment of Prof Balraj Modhok consticated in Srinagar during 1947 to be restored to the Professor.
- 8. Parished Jeep and Command Car to b restored and compensated
- 9. The Ihian Singh's dismessal.

The state of the s

- 10. Samba incident cases to be withdrawn and Bk. Naunihal to be re-instated.
  - 1% Nala Kosh bridge Rammagar case.
  - 12. Bimla Koul- Ex- Head Mistress Udhampur to be re-instated.
- 13. One Chhajju Ram Compositer of the Ranbir Government Press whose nomination papers was rejected simply on the ground that his resignation was not accepted, to be re-instated.

venically

pt wehre and sheitch Mohammad Abdullah Jeriticised the policies policies and approach of the parishad leaders and alubed thein as thindu communicatists!

(204) d. Durga Dæss Verma, however, usued following slatement on 26-1-53:-CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

(205)

BOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THE STATEMENT ISSUED BY MIKE DURGA DAS VIRTA GENERAL SECRETARY OF PRAJA PAREBHAD JAUMU. ON 26-1-1953.

Mherees I hesitated to react over the recent utterence of Pt. Nehru and Sheikh Aboullah as except acknowledging "legitimate economic grisvences of the Jammu people" the remarks passed and motives attributed by the two leaders to the existing rass unrest in the state showed little desire on their part to meat or consider the fundamental demand of the State people to be one with India; the pelitical capital that certain opportunits have hastened to make out from these, makes it imperative for me to express our view point unequivocally.

while we consider the tirely reference to the deteriorating economic condition of the masses by so exaulted a personality like. It we have, who has closely concerned himself with this unhappy affair, a step forward and that we are really heartened to note this. Welcome change in the Government of Indio's attitude; but the institution of an cormission to go into the economic side of the causes of present discontent and to recommend ways and means for its removal, as suggested by some self-installed groups, is tentemount to the gross betrayal of the real urge of the people.

to effect the unconditional accession of the State with Bharat on the confidence of the unquestionable support of the mannes, we have had to warn the struggling people not to be hoodwinked by such piece-meal maneavours of the ruling clique. In the context of present events it is my considered opinion that the exceptional and disciplined meass-uprising has dewindeled the fundar fraudelent mansion of the party-in-power. All encounters and shameless atternts hither-to employed without least regard for democratic decency to create dissentions in the united front, the masses have so eloquently staged, the rulers of the state in their vain effect to divert and confuse the public mind have taken recourse to such underecratic tactics. It is their last bid to foil the determined effort of the suffering rillions.

the people of Jarmu and the party-in-power has reached a stage;
where these eye-week measures are likely to aggreviate further, the



part of the suffering people. The Government by resorting to such propaganda want to shift the outcome of its erroneous policies over us.

In all humility I call upon every Kashmiri, whenever is to understand the true perspective of our life and death strugle Launched for (1) full and unconditional accession to India (2) application of Indian constitution and Indian flag over the State.

viewing on this plan there is nothing p rovincial or communal in it. Every patriot having faith in the Secular constitution of India must extend all possible to our movement.

Mutual distrust at this juncture of our country is highly --
deployable. There lies the salayation of the state.

Durgosar Veen

(Durga Dass verma) (FENERAL SECRETARY ALL JAMMU & KASHMIK PRAJA PARISHAD) JAMMU





Following is the full test of the Statement which Shri Dirge Diss Vermon issued after personal enquiring in the police escesses on January 25th, 2 on 31, 1, 1953

Frets have fully substantented our allegation against the high handedcess and all advised conduct of the police authrities. The continued and deblrate silence which the executive authrities have naintained confines our belief that these prevocative measures have their approval. The irresponsible attitude of the police min on 26th January 1953 must prove an eye openr into the alleged police excess?

A detailed programme to celebrate the republic day was chalked our by the presshairshed Flag hoisting commony was to take place in the main city square, the place where the different grops of probhat pharies were to wetch this solemn cermony. As son as the 1200 strang procession including near about 500 woman raising shogan.

Mc Desh Main dho Vidhan

Mc Dosh Main dho Pardhan

Mc Desh Main dho Nishan

Nahine challenge Nahine challenge, Rajan Babu Jinda Doch, Mahatma Gandhi Amer Rahe, was made to sit in an most disaplined and organish manner to hear the message which I had issued an this historic day, the police party handed by an Inspectur of police arrive on the same scene. Mean while the colounful salute by the well-Uniformed Band to make the hoisting of the National Flag was over. A special was dues made of brichs and well cemented had been ere ted for the purpose in the preceding night of January 25th by the parished volinteers.

The police objected to the cemony under the silly prolut that the traffic was obstracted and as such the people should disperse furth, The Parished Volintears on spot argued that as the cement, was to take place only a few minutes, the question of obstraction to the free movement of traffic did not arise. But the police outhrities, who had arrived with a xxxx defuite notive to disher our the national Fteg and excite x injine the public. The inspector instantenesly ordered a Lathi charge, which recorded in xxxx serious injuris to seven person including three women. The cemented

As a protest the whole city immediatly observed a helf day strike, thus sending shame to the bearucrativ irresponsibility. The story of counter fires from the public and injries to any of the police officers as suneconced by the radio so shamelessly is an after — thought fabrication thus the sole responsibility of these untoward happenings is the shoulders of the Government wich has all along encouraged police officers in these most un-called for measurs.

Jai Bhart.

Dirga Dass Verma

Genral Secretary all Jammu

& Kashmir Prajaparished

The timely admission of the "legitimate grievences" of Jammu people by Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru in frank and unreserved terms roused hopes in us that this unequivocal announcement will be followed by some practical steps for their redress. Jammu people have been experiencing unprecedented difficulties both economic and political ever since Sheikh Abdullah's rise to power. The treatment meted out to Jarmu people in all apheres of public administration and the taunting kicks to their just demands throughout years of Sheikh Sahib's reign is a woeful tale beyond the scope of this statement to be related. The people suffered and macrificed their all and exercised tremendous restraint in giving vent to the ommissions and commissions of the party-inpower, in one and only one hope that the state will finally be acceded to Bharata In their ardent desire to pave the way for speedy accession without any reservations the people continued to extend the hand of co-operation in face of humiliating attitude of the National Conference leaders.

The designs which the party-in-power manuplated stand fully exposed today. On the basis of our apprehension our fregnant demands and requests have never found a deserving appreciation even on patriotic grounds by the Government of India.

In view of this background and the self-nanufactured constitutional impediments of Sheikh Abdullah which the letter is ceaselessly exploiting for in furtherence of his designs to keep the state independent of any Bhartiya control: - the acceptance of the "legitimate grievences of the Jammu people" by Pt. Nehru cheered up the frustrated masses, who have hitherto received callous indifference from him. We anxiously awaited some positive reaction to such a courageous remark of Pt. Nehru from the Kashmir Government. We examestly looked forward that government of India will take the initiative to consul halt to the provocative, cruel and undemocratic measures of the Abdullah government.

which Sheikh Sahib has given in the course of a public speech in Delhi that he does not know what these grievences are, is ample evidence of the fact that inorder to play his own game he can go to the length of contradicting even the Indian Prime Minister.

Such a catagorical denical to the hard realities, as these words amount to, was least that well-wishers of the state expected.

Not only have these remarks injured the public feelings at large, but the magnitude of inhuman atrocities have also enhanced.

Apart from meeting the demands of the Jammu people which the Kashmir premier seems to reluctuant to do we consider that Sheikh Abdullah has made awkward the position of Pt. Nehru. Should Pt. Nehru be sincere to what he has uttered as we are sure he is, he must prevail upon the Kashmir National Conference leaders to see sense in the demand of Praja Parishad to accede to India unconditionally.

unconditionally, all hotch potch arrangements shall fail to pacify the Jammu province. In our considered opinion the legitimate grievences of the Jammu people are not likely to find amicable solution so long state is not made an integral part of the Union.

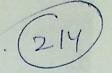
We wish speedy exploration of ways and means to end the present stalemate shall be taken in hand an an hour of relief and tranquility accorded to the people. In the end I congradulate tranquility accorded to the people. In the end I congradulate pt. Nehru for his bold remark #A and wish him to intervene directly in the matter.

Jai Bharat.

(Durga Das Verma) General Secretary All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad. Jammu.

The movement soon assumed, serious proportions and repercussions were felt outside the State also. Anti-Kashmir feelings in Jammu developed anti-Muslims overtones, while anti-Jammu reactions in the valley tented to become

Contd....30



anti-Hindu and hostile to rest of the country. By December, 1952, the whole of Jammu province was ablaze. The agitation had The agitators were met with assumed into formidable dementions. arrests and punish-ments, the Praja parishad had full moral and material sympathy and support from Hindus all over the country. It had unflinching support of national parties like Jana Sangh, Ram Rajya Parishad, Hindu Maha Sabha and Akali Dal. The leaders of these parties even courted arrests in support of The Kashmir Nationalists Praja Parishad's protest in Jamm and autonomists were of the view that the Praja Parishad agitation was basically an emotionally oriented disgruntlement against the valley based leadership in the State. They pointed out that from the very beginning of their freedom struggle, the Kashmiri leaders had never received an open minded and voluntary offered hand of cooperation from the Jammu Hindus. obsessed The Jammu Hindu mind was observed with the fear of Muslim majority in the event of Dogra rule was over. This obsession had never permitted them to accept the realities of time. could not tolerate to see State Government headed by Sheikh Abdullah whom they considered the archenemy of the Jogra ruler. The parishad agitation was, therefore, essentially anti-Kashmiri anti-Muslim and anti-autonomous in its nature, character, aims The Kashmiri leadership said that the and objectiones. agitation was politically a regionally oriented aspiration for the attainment of an identity separate and distinct from that of Kashmiri identity, and at the same time, not having any appreciation for composite nationalism, a characteristic feature of India secular polity. They added that the separatist objective of the agitation was evident in its declaration to put an end to Sheikh Abdullah and other workers

of the National Conference. We shall sack their blood. We will root out this Government and send them to Kashmir. We do not like this Raj.

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while contractietung the denial statement usued by The kashnir Govt, regarding its attempt to carve out predominently Muslim zones out of me areas which were non-muslim in Jammu province, the Alb Jak praja parishad published on Feb. 6, 1953
The All Jak praja parishad issue following statement:

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Ole.

The denial statement of the Kashmir Government regarding its attempt to carve out predominently Muslim zones out of the areas which were over-helmingly non-muslim in Jammu Province published in the "Hindu" dated 6th Fob. 1953, page 7 column 4, is nothing but prostitution of the facts. Their reason that the boundaries of some districts have been adjusted "as a result of 31,251 Square Miles of the state terrigiphy having been over-run by the enemy upto the end of the period" is far from truth. A casual study of the map enclosed herewith would clearly show what the Kashmir Government has so far done and what it further intends to do.

Immediately after the assumption of the power the present Government transferred 18 villages of Ramban Tehsil (District Udhampur) falling on the valley side of the Peer Panjal to Amentmag District. These both districts had not been effected by the enemy raiders at all. Similarly some villages of Reasi District were joined with Ananthag Not satisfied with that in Baisakh 2005 (April, 1948) one month after taking of the oath by the present interim Ministry the Government split Winampur District with 1,85,000 Hindus and 1222 1,28,000 Muslims population into two districts and created a new district of Doda with the three tehsils of Ramban, Kishwar and Bhadarwah with a population and of 1,09,000 muslims and 77,000 Hindus leaving behind Whampur District with two tehsils of Whampur and Rammagar with a population of 88,000 Hindus and 20,000 Muslims. Thus old districty of Whampur, which was not raided by the enemy was divided into Muslim and non-Muslim zones and this division feeilitated. Sir Owen Dixen to include "some adjacent territories" along with Kashmir valley for Plebicite purposes. And is it not in the fraft contituation the Kashmir Government to divide the state into four commissioner es of Ladakh, Jammu (Excluding Doda

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and Rajouri Poonch), Kashmir valley (including Doda), and Rajouri Poonch? It would be interesting to note that Peer Panjal 10,000 feet high mountain near Banihal and at some places still higher separates valley from Doda District and remains unsurpassable for six months a year and all the necessary supplies of this new districts are imported from Jammu.

Reasi District has two tehsils Reasi and Rajouri. new regime has tagged Rajouri with Poonch and Joined the Niabat of Naushehra with it and thus created a new district of Rajouri and Poonch in which two lacs Muslims from across the cease Five line came after 1949and have been rehabilitated there. This also La Muslim majority zone, This fact of infilteration was disclosed by Sheikh Sahib in his statement in the Indian Parliament on 5th It was due to this unchecked policy of infilteration March, 1952. of the Kashmir Government that a District Magistrate of Rajouri Mr. Trilochan Dutt, who belonged to National Conference and who was erstwhile a private tutor and became a District Magistrate through the good wishes of the partyposses, resigned as a protest against Then the remaining position of Reasi District i.e. Reasi Tehsil was joined with Wihampur District making it a predominently Hindu majority District. The re-adjustment of the District in the valley has not been materially effected. Only a new district of Srinagar city has been created and the reconquered parts of Muzafarabad District have been joined to Baramula District. The . Hindu Sikh refegees of Muzafarabad and Baramula Districts have been refused to be rehabilitated in the Kashmir Valley. Districts formed part of the valley and these refugees had a right to be rehabilitated in the valley. They demanded as such but were key have been foreibly rehabilitated on the refused and borders of Jammu without giving them any arms to Amaix defend themselves. This, in short, is the 'SECULAR' policy and .

Feb 6, 1953:

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6th Feb. 1953.

The Editor, "Hindu" MADRAS-2.

e

Dear Sir,

I am very thankful to you for your Editorial in your paper of 6th Feb. 1953 under the Heading "Jammu". Your editorials previously too of 10th Jan. 1953 and April-June-July 1952 have marked a clear lining and vivid understanding of the problem. But for the incorrect appreciation of the warning of able and far sighted ind pendent editors like your self and Mr. Tushir Kanti Ghosh, edito "Amirta-Bazaar Patrika" Calcutta, the tragedies, of indiscriminate, unjust, and mad firings at various places in Jammu Province on unarmed non-violent Satyagrahis would not have been staged. It is still tir for the Leaders, Statemen, and Politicians of Bharat to bring preasure upon the Government of India to realise the gravity of the situation and try to slove the question dispassionately in consultation with the accredited leader of Praja Parishad, Pandit Prem Nath Commissions appointed cannot bear any fruit unless the Ja Dogra. party aggrieved is not given a patient hearing which the people of Jammu least expect from the personnel of the commission announced earlier by the Kashmir Government.

I enclose herewith a statement of to disclose the hollowness of Kashmir Government declaration regarding the adjustment of the boundries of various districts that appeared in your paper of 6th Feb. 1953, on page 7 column 4. I enclose herewith the map of Jammu and Kashmir state and I hope that it will throw some light on the burnning problem of the day for the guidence of your readers in particular and Indian public opinion in General.

Yours faithfully,

M. Hailgotra, Plies See

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of 2h

Dr S.P. Mukerji, the then President of Bhartiya Jana Sangh, entered into a long correspondence with Pt. Nehru and Sheikh Mohammad Abdulläh but mothing substantial came out.

It was during these days that Dr S.P. Mukerjee was authorised by his Jana Sangh Party either to seek redressing of the grievances of the Jammu people or to launch a Satyagrah in India in support of the Praja Parishad agitation. 76

In his presidential address at the Kanpur session of the Jana Sangh Dr S.P. Mukerjee said:

".... We are often told that if there is any Mundue pressure for the application of the Indian Constitution to Jammu and Kashmir, the Muslim of Kashmir valley may break away from argument India this agreement is totally unintelligible. If our constitution had been so devised as to make Muslims feel nervous about their future fate or about possibility of their receiving equal treatment, one could have understood the force of the argument. When, however, that is not so, what can possibly be the ground for this hesitation?.... Let me repeat and state categorically that I do not want Jammu and Kashmir to be partitioned. But if Sheikh Abdullah is adament, Jammu and Ladakh must not be sacrified but Kashmir Valley may be a separate State within Indian Union receiving all the necessary subvention and being treated constitutionally in such a manner as Sheikh Abdullah and his advisors may wish for.... "77

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Finally, Dr S.P. Mukerjee in his letter to Pt. Nehru on February 17, 1953, which he had written to him in reply of the letter dated February 15, 1953, offered the following 10 point formula 78 for his consideration as first step for the withdrawal of Parishad agitation:-

- "1. The movement is withdrawn.
  - Order for the release of Prisoners is given and there will be no victimisation.
  - 3. You and Sheikh Abdullah call a conference, say, after a fortnight where all political and constitutional matters are discussed with an open mind.
  - 4. Both parties reiterate that the unity of the State of J & K will be maintained and that the principle of autonomy will apply to the province of Jammu as a whole and of course also to Ladakh and Kashmir valley.
  - The new constitution to come into force as soon as possible and elections to take place within, say, six months.
  - 6. Question of flag is to be clarified and India flag should be in use everyday just as in done in all other parts of India.
  - 7. Implementation of the July agreement will be made at the next session of J & K @maxiximim Constituent

    Assembly after the issues left vague have been properly clarified. In respect of fundamental rights, citizenship, supreme court, president's powers, financial integration, conduct of elections,

provisions of the Indian Constitution will apply. Exception, however, may be made with regard to conditions for acquisition of land.

- 8. The terms of reference of the commission of enquiry will be widened and all grievances will be examined by it.
- The Commission now includes 4 persons, Chief Justice,
  Accountant General, Chief Conservator of Forests and
  Revenue Commissioner. The last three gentlemen are
  administrative officers under J & K State and they can
  hardly inspire confidence. The Commission should be
  reconstituted with 2 judges from India and the Chief
  Justice of J & K so that its impartiability and
  representative characters may not be questioned.
- Regarding finality of accession and other political matters, the Conference will consider these points from every aspect and agreement sought to be reached which will be to the best interest of India including J & K.\*

Pt. Nehru, however, did not respond to Mukerjee's officer to withdraw the agitation. The Parishad agitation was growing in its intensity. There was a danger of the movement erupting into violence. In order to prevent it Dr S.P. Mukerjee deputed Mr. Trived and Deshpanda to Jammu to exert their influence to prevent this. But they were refused permission to enter Jammu and Kashmir. Mookerjee, therefore, decided to go to Jammu himself without applying for a permit. He pointed out "Mr. Nehru has sepeatedly declared that the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir has been hundred percent complete.

-: 3by:-

Yet it is strange to find that one cannot enter the State without a previous permit from the Government of India. permit is even granted to communists who are playing their usual role in Jammu and Kashmir, but entry is barred to those who think or act in terms of Indian Unity and nationhood. do not think that the Government of India is entitled to prevent entry into any part of the Indian Union which, according to Mr. Nehru himself, includes Jammu & Kashmir of course, if anyone violates the law after entering any State, he will have to face the consequences. 79 CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

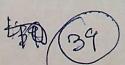
(224) re Jollowing and mas Sheikh Hohammad Abdullah 3 Broad cast from Rachio Kashmer Srinagar ou April 18, 1953 granting autonomy to the different cultural units of the Fate State in the Jutuse Cough lution of Statement of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah:

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Broadcasting from Radio Kashmir, Srinagar, last alght the Kashmir Prime Minister, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah said, "We have decided to give autonomy to the different cultural units of the State as will be provided in the Constitution that is being drawn up. This will remove all the fears of domination of one unit over the other and will make for the voluntary unity and consolidation of the people of the State".

Commonting on the recent events in Jammu the Prime Minister said that during the past few months some deplorable events had taken place which ran counter to the basic principles on which the odifics of the State was being reconstructed after the disturbances of 1947. The section of the Jammu population which had been misled by the internal and external communal agencies find their enthusiasm and emotions demped now and I am glad to find that the people of Jamma have begun to realise the grave consequences of the recent agliation. All right-thinking poople are expressing regret over all that has happened. This unpleasant state of affairs has not only disturbed the peace and order of the province, but has seriously affected their business activities. The money which would otherwise be spent on the betterment and the welfare of the people had to be spent to meet the expenditure incurred on putting down the disturbance.

The Prime Minister deeply regretted the loss of some lives and other casualties resulting from the action which the police were forced to take on certain occasions as also the casualties suffered by the Police and the Magistracy. He regretted that these unhappy events should have taken place at a time when not only a democratic constitution for the State was being framed but also the Five-year plan was being finalized. He said that the Government had to thought of starting the work of



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reconstruction from that very Province out at the time of opening of the Government of fleed at Jerms the destructed bad to from the disorder and the disturbances. At a time when the law and order is being threatened it becomes difficult for a Government to implement the notion-building plans. Shouch abdultub exhauted the people to fully comparete with the Government in making democracy a success in the State. He said that the State was passing through a critical phase and any disturbance or disorder would not only be detrimental to the progress and the healthy growth of the State but will be suicidal to its freedom and security.

Should abdulish resterating his faith in the common ideals based on secular democracy Checkh Abdulian said that the freedom and progress of the State depended on standing united in the field of action irrespective of caste and cread. At a time when the Indian sub-continent was torn saurder by the semmunal forces, Raxing Kashmir presented an impregnable front to demonstrate and defeated the two-nection theory. Having failed to deeres the people of Kashmir Pakistan Let lose hordes of free-breters on the cold of the State. But the people of the State, irrespective of caste and creed stood as one man and refused to how moiors the demon of communation. They also now weekers true the paths of manners. Inspired by the principles of brotherhood and religious telerance we went ahoud with some nation-dualing reforms including abolition of including and hereditary rule," he said.

Sheikh Abdulluh said that in the present age of democracy the idea of class domination was permissions and deplorable. "We are out to afford oqual opportunities to all people so that each unit may progress in accordance with its cultural needs. We consider it a believe crime to make any distinction on grounds of race colour or croed. We have, therefore, decided to give autonomy to the different cultural units of the State as will be provided in the constitution that is main; drawn up. This will remove all the fears of domination by one unit over the other and making for voluntary posperation among people of the State", he added.

constitutional edifice of the State would be laid on the twinprinciples of democracy and communal brotherhood. It was on these
principles that the State's accession was made with India in 1947.

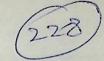
"At that time only two courses were open to us - to join India or
Pakistan. Pakistan tried to coerce us but after due deliberation
we acceded to India in the interests of the people. We felt
that in principle there was nothing in common between the "New Kashmir"
programme and the foundations on which the Pakistan leaders were
trying to build their nation. We took this decision at a very
critical time when communal fires in some parts of India had not
died down."

of India to uphold and safeguard their freedom and cherished progressive ideals. This communion of ideologies resulted in the establishment of firm political relationship between the State and the Entanceix Endia Indian Union. Accordingly an honourable place was given to the State in free India's constitution. In legal phraseology what was termed as Section 370 of the Indian Constitution, was a permanent and invoilable bond between the State and the Indian Union so far as human relationship is concerned.

Sheikh Abdullah made it clear that the State had acceded to India in three subjects viz., Defence, Foreign Affirms and Communications. With regard to the other subjects, he said, that under Section 370 of the Indian Constitution the State's Constituent

Assembly was a sovreign body. The position was further clarified in the Delhi Agreement which was approved by the Indian Parliament and the State Constituent Assembly. "The Instrument of Accession, Section 370 of the Indian Constitution and the Delhi Agreement of 1952 now form the basis of relationship between the State and the Indian Union. Both the Governments are bound to implement and abide by them", he added.

Drawing a distinction between "integration" and
"accession" the Prime Minister said that those who believed that
Kashmir's accession meant merger with India were labouring under
false notion. The people of Kashmor he said had no doubt acceeded to



India and the accession was complete in fact and law to but the State had not marged with India. The purpose of the present relationship kekwan of the State with India was to bring the people of the two countries nearen each other. Ideological affinity based on union of hearts was essential for permanent relationship. "Those who ignore this important factor in human relationship were putting the cart before the horse," he added.

Referring to the Praja Parishad movement in Jammu, Sheikh Abdullah said, that its leaders were trying to give communal colour to politics of the State. In view of the delicate nature of Kashmir question in the international field the activities of Parishad could produce disastrous consequences which would benefit Pakistan along.

He appealed to the good sense of the people not to be carried off their feet by the propagands of communal bodies and exhorted them to realise their duty towards their motherland. "Uncertain conditions prevailing in the country have retarded our progress, but the Government is determined to carry forward the nation-building programme. The Five-year plan has already been drawn up and its success depends mostly on the co-operation of the people.

country but also to re-habilitate our mislead brethren intellectually and politically; he said.

Sheikh Abbullah appealed to the people of Jammu not to be mislead by those whose past is already soiled. He added that the people were once before mislead by the so-called loaders which resulted in a catastrophe. If the people of Jemma ofped again allowed themselves to be exploited by the so-called loaders, it would result in some grim tragedy. "I assure the people on my own behalf and on behalf of my Government that we shall forget this painful chapter, provided our basic principles are not impaired. We welcome any honest and constructive criticism because as human beings we do not consider ourselves unerring," he added. The Prime Minister said that the criticism should be such as would promote unity and not disruption. He assured the people that if they remained united, no body could harm them. "Let us therefore rise to the occasion, and understand the reslities of the situation and live together in mutual good-will and confidence. Standing shoulder to shoulder let us march forward on the path of progress and stand guard on each others honoury he said.

Addressing the people of Kashwir Valley, Sheikh only abdullah said that the Praja Parishad movement was run by/those people who were the bulwarks of the old regime or who were affected by the progressive policy of the present Government or those who were communal-minded. So far as the masses of Jammu and concerned, their problems were fundamentally the same as those of other backward people. "We should not class them with agitators and nor should we forget those Hindus and Sikhs who in the dark days of 1947 tried to save hundreds of destitute Muslim men and wemen by giving them shelter in spite of the grave dangers." He exhorted the people to stick to their principles and said that the events after 1947/had justified the choice made by the people of Kashmir, for the people of India in general rejected the communal outlook. In

the recent general elections in India no communal body could enlist mass support, to a \$100.

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general rejected the communal outlook. In the recent general
algebras in India no communal body could enlist mass support.

Expressing deep sympathy with the Kashmiris on the other side of the Cease-fire line, Sheikh Abdullah said: "We are anxiously awaiting the day when the territorial integrity of the curxuprested the State will be restored and lakks of our uprooted brethren may re-settle in their own home and live peacefully." He exhorted them to arise and awake and not to allow themselves to be exploited any further by their so-called leaders who were responsible for all their misery and suffering and added that if they did not rise to the occasion, there could be not hope of their securing freedom from the present misery. "

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY,
AMRITSAR.

While commenting on an editorial appeared in the Tribune on 21-4-1953 in defence of sheitch Mohammad Aboutlah's policies in the state.

Mr. Assiana Naziana Des had written following letter to the first Schillans of the paper on 29-4-1953

Mr. Mariana Dass Leller to The Editor The Tribune, Amballa Cant.

29. 4.53

The Editor,
The Tribunc,
Amballa Cantt.

Your Editorial in defence of Sheikh Abdulla's Appeal published in your paper dated 21-4-5% is atonce informative and suggestive. It shows that you yourself are not sure about the's correctness of the otend taken by Sheikh Abdulla Government for accession of the State ' for a limited number of the subjects'.

And at the same time the argument advanced is not understandable. The flexibility to be adopted in the Constitution by conventions will even to yourself its horible results. Such flexibility principle will lead to the 2 fragmentation of the country which will not be feasible both from aconomic and administrative point of view.

You have supported the 'Grathitous' grant of sheigh Abdulla of autonomy to 'Cultural Units'. What is culture? Has a Matien different cultures? Or is India a land of different Mations. Mation has always only one culture. The cultural division of the state is the acceptance of the printicultural division of the state is the acceptance of the printicular of the state being composite of different Mations. This applitting of the State into different so called cultural units will not who a sound solution of the problem and will not end the present political impasses but will lead to further troubles more harmful to the cause of the country than it is intended to remedy.

Unfortunately the practice of calling names or attribute: motives to those who honortly differ from the view point of the party in power has become a universal rule in the country. The landian Prime Minister does not open any opportunity let go than he should not appressed abuse his political orponents. In the same tone you too accuse that the Praja Parishad leaders are clearly asking for the application of the two nation theory to the state asking for the application of the two nation theory to the state.

It displays that either the real implication of the agitation are not understood or it is deliberately some to cloud the real issue.

The Indian Prime Hinister Pandit Hehru is following the policy of surrendering to Huslim Communclism by granting a special Status to Kashmir because of its being predominantl Muslim area and you knowingly fully well it to be wrong suppor it with the expression ' If for certain reasons '. What are the those reasons ? Faving failed to practically to bring Kashmir State completely integrated like all other States you like Pandit Nahru shift the burden on to others and charge them com unal and R ' directly or indirectly pressing ' for the partition of the State. Who is asking for the application of the two Nation theory ? If ' A Constitution, a Flag, and an anthem, these three sum up a Mation! ( Tage 3, Our Mational Song Govern ment of India Publication ) is a good principle for the rest of India any variation of this principle of granting a right to have a separate Constitution to a section of Indians ( For Kashmiries have very often been declared to be Indians both by Pandit Mehru and Sheikh Abdulla ) is the adoption of three nate theory in practice and it is shaneful to cast malignantly the burden of its domand on othere.

Yours Taithfully,

Wariand Dass B.A. LL.

31, Kachchi Chovni, Janmu.

(quit) (222) Ram North Balgotra had then sent following Istandard New Delhi on 5/5/1953: 125 Letter of shri Ram wath Balgotra CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

The Editor,

Hindustan Standard,

Delhi.

5/5/57

Dear Sir.

Shree Chulam Moh'd Sadiq, President so called Kashmir Constituent Assembly while addressing sponsored Democratic Youth League Convention in Jammu on 2nd May, 1953 reported in your paper on 3rd May, 1953 described Parishad Leaders"traitors We challange Shree Sadiq an avowed communist to prove the charge before any court of law. It is not fair on the part of the responsible persons like Sh. Sadiq to make such wild allegation and charges against his political opponents. If the previous and precent history of Shree Sadiq is reviewed and analysed the charge will fit in for Mr. Sadiq himself. The memory of Shree Sadiq's and his leader Sheikh Abdullah's intrigues with the British Imperialis to creat communal troubles in the State in 1931 at the time when the then Government of India wanted to penalize the Maharaja for his bold patriotic stand in the Round Table Conference is still fresh to the people. It was a time when the British Imperialists instigated and finance the communal right throughout India to bring the Congress Civil dis-obedience movement of 1931-32 to a sad and miserable end, It was the beginning of Shree Sadiq and his leaders "National struggle". Was it patriotic or treacherous? I leave it for your readers to decide.

Again in 1947 when the Maharaja was communicating with the Government of India for accession of the State, Shree Sadiq and his other companions went to Pakistan for consultations for accession of the State to Pakistan. He went their at the behest of his leader Sheikh Abdullah and the Communist Party of India which stood for the partition of the country.

There are other happenings and incidents also connecthis
ed with Shree Sadiq which abundantely prove that inwix malicious
charge against his opponents suit best for himself.

Tours Faithfully,

Magt Garis, JAMU-TAWT CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eqangon

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Dr S.P. Mukerjee, alongwith U.M. Trivedi the then M.P. 2 and Vaid Guru Dutt left Delhi for Jammu on May 8, 1953. On May 10, 1953 when they were passing through Punjab enroute to Jammu Mukerjee received a message from Sheikh Abdullah saying his visit to Jammu would be inopportune. Nonetheless they proceeded and the moment they crossed the Ravi River at Madhopur at 4 p.m. on May 11, 1953 they were arrested under public Safety Act and Mukerjee placed under house arrest at Srinagar. had added fuel to the fire. The agitation took such a serious turn that it almost paralysed the entire State apparatus. Almost every part of Jammu region, from city to village virbrant with mass upsurge. Chamb, R.S. Pura, Sunderbani, Samba, Akhnoor, Jourian, Kishtwar, Hiranagar, Udhampur, Basohli, Reasi etc. were places where people were killed and injured by firing. Lathi Charges on processions had become a normal Since the agitation had attracted popular support of almost all non-Muslims from every part of India, it had shattered the Sheikh's faith in Indian secularism. He advised the people of Kashmir not to get upset over the

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agitation of the reactionary communal forces in Jammu. 82 He said:

"We faced and weathered many storms and were successful and we shall weather this storm as well. When the people of Kashmir had met the challenge of the Muslim League and Muslim National Guards, they would not be afraid of the challenge of the Praja Parishad and other communalists, who were really the "Muslim National Guards' in Hindu Garb."

In his public speechs Sheikh Abdullah warned India of grave consequences if the Hindu communalism was permitted to continue its virus against Muslims. This attitude of Sheikh

AMMIXKAIMMXAXMIXWAX Abdullah was not liked by the Indian leaders.

Even Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was sent to Kashmir to persuade him to be moderate in his critisam of Hindus and not to take the matter to the extereme.

Mukerjee fell ill shortly after his arrival at

Srinagar incustody. He complained of pain in his right leg in
late May, 1953. He developed a fever and chest pain which was
diagnosed 'dry pleurisy' on June 22, 1953. He was removed from
the cottage to the State Hospital in Srinagar. At 3.40 a.m. on
June 23, 1953 he got sudden heart attack and died. As a result
of his sudden death the whole of North India was plunged in
profound grief and submerged by a kind of anti-Nehru and antiSheikh wave. Praja Parishad refused to believe that death
occurred in natural circumstances. It was described as death
in mysterious circumstances. It was described as death
reactions were also heard in the Frontier district of Ladakh.

Mukerjee's death and the circumstances surrounding it, had given rise to many rumors that he was murdered or that when he became sick was allowed to die. Pt. Prem Nath Dogra and other India leaders accompanied the deadbody of Drs. P. Mukerjee flown to Calcutta, his home town. In the middle of air journey, Pt. Prem Nath Dogra was dropped at Udhampur. was then taken to Delhi, where D.P. Dhar, the then Dy. Home Minister of the State wanted to negotiate with him for the withdrawl of the Praja Parishad agitation. But Pt. Prem Nath Dogra refused to negotiate with him as he was only Deputy Minister. As a result Bakashi Ghulam Mohd, the then Home Ministe Minister of the State flew to Delhi and met him and pressurised him to withdraw the agitation. Keeping in view the changed circumstances he made certain commitments. mark of respect to the departed soul, Pt. Prem Nath Dogra called off the agitation for thirteen days to express grief and sorrow CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

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- Aclch PZ41 Speach In M. Prem Acade gee Sogn (24)
President All It le. Praga Parishadon 27:1.53
in the Parale grown

I am happy to be back while my people effect 8 months absence. It was a period of trial for us. We had voluntarily taken second to the path of celf enerifice and suffering for the rindication of our right to live a life of honour and security in our own homeland as a component part of India. The way you have possed through this trial makes no proud of you. What I have soon and heard about the way you conducted the catyogram effect my arrest has convinced me that the future of our state is secure. Our satyograms has no parallel in the history of satyograms. For eight months two governments had lot loose their barbaric force to crush you. But they have not been able to exuch you. Rather they have been vanquiched.

You stand victorious.

Today the whole country is full of praise for you and the brave right you have given to the forces of separation and disruption. I had the opportunity to visit a few important places in north India during the last few days. Every whole I found to mendous estimates and genuine praise for you people. Your secrifices have nade your cause the cause of whole of India. The conscionce of the whole country including the powers that be in the Delhi has been eithered and they have realised and admitted the justice of our cause and the patriotic metites that impelied us to launch our catyagraha.

What did we fight for? Our struggle was aimed at bringing Jermu and Easimir State close to India of which it has all through the ages been integral part, geographically historically as also culturally. This was necessitated by the cerestist policies of the Government of Jermu and Kashmir which were aimed at driving a wedge between the State and the rest of . India, Our demand was logical and patriotic. It flowed from the fact of accession of the State to India, We were opposed the policy of reducing that accession to a deed letter quality sutting at the roots of State's unity with India.

granty success to the in their inculgance for theigh aboutless

failed to uce the dangerous implications of that rolley inspite of our repeated protecte, requests and warnings. They did not pay any head so the codertestions of a patriot like Dr. Wiym appeared Mookerjee even. Dut I am happy to tell that it hen been proved beyond doubt that we were on the wight. The whole of India has now applicated to the dangers of systematic nep recies of some Karlmira politicians. It is now admitted at all hende that our movement was notther communit nor reactionery but was an outcome of the patriotic urgs of the people of the state t to be une with India.

Hat is why overtures were made to us to X stop the atyagoolic. I was taken to Srinager to here consultations with Dr. C.R. Teatrerja, Dr. Helmu who for three long years refused to talk to your representatives and spoke fare against to day in and cay out, recoped out of his shall of self complement and appealed to to for comparation and for concetion of ostyagrah. He called us and heard our view point. It was a clear victory of you people. It shows that you cannot be Emoret, that you have node your ambitance felt. I will he had done this a month cartier. That might have moved the country from the (west tropedy of he. Hookerjoe's death. But still it is intier of nationaction that light has damed unon yu. Teh u order all.

I had tolled with some other ministers of the Central and Machinia Coverement so well. I do not think that I am divolging ryching if I say that they have begun to ap reviate our vie boint. The dergerous rotalts of the policy of drift in regard to Mariner have already begun to manifest themselves. and they have forced them to pay head to our warnings which ind gor uni cood to for. India's state in Ecologie to high. the carnot disend to bungle the comy more. An I hope that steps to end he congenous maspense about the future of the State will be room taken. Juriseistion of Supreme Court, Dindenortal right and limmotal integration of the date with India and neveral correlarios of Utato's accusion to India and I am confident that the State will have the benefit

of give very coop.

Definite suspensit also come to first taken to r novo
the eventure and other culeviences of the people within the
State. Come of their here already been taken, constitute has
been done to relabilitate con-service-men, remove controls sto.
The report of the venir Consister which who set up so a result of
other scored has vindicated our stand about land referre and
other sconemic policies of the reversery.

We have otopped our calvectable to give time to rt. Third and Lammir Covermont to act things right. The ours particular corresponding the service of the second the netyequalm S menths ego have now impolled us to stop in even though up and the etrangth and determination to carry it on for rout months nor , thring this parted incircle problem which had clready become complicated has become delicate. Our maningu and sores four have come true. Percent maqueraling as India, o friends and followers of Upinton Condia have cons out in thole true calcare. They have begin to flirt with the idea of indepondent Machinia for the full illuming of their own publisher. Havy have sorgetten how this independence namic brought in traction to Earling in 1947. We are and have been opposed to at the ther it comes from Ft. Iam Chank Mil by opplies such land. I went to appoint to my Horizant Thrownen not to be emploited by such fining enion. They will land them Lie worden

cominst Similar About his or Madminists on onch. We have always to bind upon Earthin on an ingeral part of the state withing Inches we entended our fullest occaperation to Shelich About his view he entended in power. It was unfortunate that the missission our willing conferration for the econom and of unity with India to be our variations. I am samp he has now realised our strongth. I must to assume him that we want to be him friends provided in given up his appearation policies.

Let him be indien right and Kashairi or incline entermined and now we are with him.

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The entrevings undergone and the encritices hade by you people during the entropyal have been in once. You have food buildto and braved all the engines of represent in the exempt, of Kapimir and Indian Police with most cornencable occurage, rectablic and discipline. By committing crimes against women the state Covernment has proved that it is not fit to be called a civilized government. You had the power and ability to give them blow for blow. But by ourfaming non-violently you have proved that you are ture entropyalise.

by Dr. Symm Proced Wockerji who died a martyra death in a crivager Jail. In his death the country has paid the greatest price for James and Kashwir's unity with India. The people of stars will over rember him. We will carry on his mission. It is also our desire to build believing memorial to his memory at James and enimager. I hope the people of the state will contribute liberally to Dr. Hookerji Hemorrial fund when appeal is node for it. We are also one with the rest of India in the demand for an importial enquiry into the mystraus circumstances in which Dr. Hookerji died.

ourselves. The respie are with us. They have proved their raith in Freja Parished by standing by it in thick and thin. Their accounts work of removing powerty, disease and ignorance. The Hendi area of our land is nort neglected. It a needs have to be ignired into. The Praja Parished will own set up a constitute to make a social and commits curvey of the Manda flags. I will appeal to my rathous workers to make a social and commits curvey of the Manda the Est of the people and shows their sufferings. Service of the people is the respective uplies to cardiage of the people is the real measure of our strength. We must now semeonizate on educating them so that they may be able to discharge the responsibilities that are seen going to devoked on them in a worthy manner.

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Jammu - 31st August: While commenting on Bakshi Ghulam Mohd's recent exclusive interview with the correspondent of a News Agency (I.P.4.) and later circulated through the Kashmir Govt. Information Bureau, the J & K Praja Parishad Chief Pt. Prem Noth Dogra said here today, "In this interview Bakhshi Giulam Mohammad has leid bare his real intentions with regard to Kashmir's position in the Indian Union that he is not prapared to be trasted at par with other States of India, should be now abundantly clear even to those who had developed a sort of blind faith in his oft repeated slogens about National Integration". Dogra added that far from bringing Kashmir Closer to the rest of the country Bakhshi Chulam Mohammad has evan disapproved sug ge stion with the Indien "stional Congress on the plas of "its own special traditions and cartain sentiments of its followers ". It should not be difficult for enybody to read be tween the lines. National Conference has in fact lost hold on the masses because of such antinational sentiments of its leadership.

Praja Parishad Chief said "Bakhshi's assertion that Kashmir is still vary much an international issue, runs countar to his own previous declarations that Kashmir has linked its destiny irrecovably with India and that there was now no Kashmir problem except that of recovaring our territorics illegally held by. Pakistan and China. His latest approach definitely smacks of black mailing and refutes the very basis of India's stand at the United Nations".

Pt. Dogra expressed surprise that Kashmir Premier's reference to Sheikh Mohd Abdullah as "still posing a Serious political problem for the State which cannot be dealt with purely as a law and order question" is most unfortunate. Can there be worse confession about the miserable failure of the Government to create fashings of certainty, and stability in minds of the people? But this confession also seems more political and

reality plomatic than rentism | Referring to paking

orogetion of Art. 370 of the Indian Constitution,

leader said, "His opposition to abrogation of Art. 370 never in doubt despite categorical assertion by the Prime Minis. Jawaharlal Mahru that this Article was going to becom redundant With the passage of time. What is shocking is that that he should

now link up the validity of the accession of the State to the Union with the transitional provision of the Indian Constitution.

( In his interview Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd had said", Art. 370 Bakhshi Sahib pointed out gave validity to this State's voluntary accession to the Indian Union as determined by the freely elected constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir) . There could be perhaps no Worse example of political opportunism".

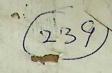
Pt. Dogra stated " Bakhshi has boasted about having weakened Proje Parishad which he has dubbed as communal. I may assure him that his such claims are going to deceive him alone. Proje Parished is an organisation of triad patitiots out to fight to last against elements which have no faith in politically strong, compared ly progressive and socially upright Indian Nation".

Pt. Dogra further said that Bakhshi's emphossis "Under his landership his party had fought communalism in the State, when in other parts of the country, righitst and communal parties had gained ground is the same tone of talking as the leade ruling "ational Conference had been using to misguide and arouse the communal frenzy amonst the Kashmir Muslims against India.

Gopaldas Sacher, Publicity Secretary, J&K Praja Parishad, Jammu.

All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad, Jammu.

August 1953.



receiving detailed information about the attrocities committed by Police and ilitia in different parts of Jammu. The Information has been coming both from the victims of the attrocities and nightly respectable and responsible unattached persons. It shows that there has been large scale looting of the villages in tehsils of Jammu, Akhnoor, Nowshera, Rajouri, Reasi, Ramban and Basohli by the Police and the Militia. People of the villages were literally forced out of their homes and they had to stay for days and weeks in outlying jungles leaving all they possessed to the mercy of custoffians of law and order who behaved as worst brigands and free-

to merciless beating and torture in and outside the Police lock ups before their conviction. The victim of Police Tiring were treated in a most barbarous way. I have cases before me where lives of some persons injured by bullets could have been saved has medical and been given to them. But the authorities not only did not give any medical and to them but also prevented others from doing so.

The worst part of these attrocities is the crimes against women. I have got definite information about criminal assault and rape of innocent girls and women by very responsible police officers of the State not to speak of ordinary constables who were encouraged to do such things by giving to them spirituous drinks before they set out on their nead-hunting expeditions.

These are things which must shake the conscience of any civilized person. The resentment these happenings have created in the minds of the phople of Jammu is both natural and invense. In the interest of justice and morality as also for pacifying the minds of the people it is essential that

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Government should set up an impartial commission of enquiry presided over by a Supreme court judge to investigate into these attrocities. This is a most urgent matter and does not brook any delay.

I do not want to do any thing at this stage which may embarass the Government. But justice must be done to puchiy the people whose suffering has been so great. Further the criminal officers will continue to harass people to tabricate evidence in their favour till such an enquiry begins.

I also want to avoid any untoward incident which may take place because of the universal resentment against such criminal officers.

I therefore plead with you to take early steps in the matter.

1 expect an early intimation from you in this connection.

Yours

Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah Hon'ble Prime Minister, Jammu & Kashmir State, Srinagar.

(Prem Nath Dogra)
(President,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
J A M M U.

\* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \* \*

Copies submitted to:-

- 1. Bakshi Gnulam Mohammed, Hon'ble Home Minister, Jammu & Kashmir State,
- 2. Shree Jawahar Lal Ji Nenru, Hon'ble Prime Minister of India.
- 5. Dr. Kaitash Nath Katju, Hon'ble Home Minister of India.

for information and favour of early-necessary action.

After the death of Mukerjee there abruptly accurred a

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change in the attitude of the Congress Government, headed by Pt. Nehru. For the first time Pt. Nehru realised that large number of people in Jammu had suffered and that "whatever our countrymen suffer, we share, to some extent, that suffering. In an appeal he advised the Praja Parishad leaders to end the conflict and return to the normal ways of peaceful and z cooperative politics. Meanwhile, Sheikh Abdullah and had a prolonged discuss with Adlai Sterenson - a democratic leader of U.S.A., who visited Srinager. It was said that the two leaders had thoroughly discussed the Kashmir problem and one of the alternative solution concluded was the possibility of an independent Kashmir with an international guarantee by Big

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Sheikh Abdullah was suspected of a 'mischief' which the Government of India was not ready to permit him at any cost. His removal was the only wayout of national interest was to be saved by means of keeping the State of J & K safe in Indian grip. The orders of the dismissal of his ministry were issued by the adar-i-Riyasat and were served to him on August 9, 1953 at On the other hand the Parishad leaders seemed to be satisfied with the dismissal of Sheikh Abdullah's ministry and his subsequent arrest on August 9, 1953. They promised to support to the then newly constituted State Ministry head/by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad. The force and intensity of the agitation was, therefore, relaxed. On July 7, 1953 the party officials announced that agitation was called off temporarily with the hope that the grievances of the people of Jammu would be refiressed and their demands met by the then new Government headed CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Upmmuc Pligitized by eGangori obl. igod if you

Ine Praja Parishad also resolved to continue to press for the full accession of Kashmir to India. Pt. P.N. ogra and G.M. Bakashi - the new P.M. of the State - however agreed in Sertime December 1953 to drop the Satyagraha, withdraw the cases against the demonstrators and restore their civil rights. The Parishad leadership actually fell in the trap of Bakashi, who required their support to consolidate his own position particularly in the how kalling your Digitized by eGangotri

letter to Gr.M. Bakshi: Pt-P-M Dogras letter to MR.G.M. Balcshi and dated 1-2-54

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Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

- जम्मू एराड करमीर प्रजा परिषद

DATED 1.2.54

केन्द्रीय-कार्यालय: जम्मू ।

NO...ILLERA

My Dear Bakshi Sahib,

This is to remind you of my talks with you earlier wherein you extended to me certain assurances in respect of the framing of a constitution for the State.

The question of the constitutional set up in the State and its relationship with India is of vital importance to us as a political party and as representatives the Jammu Province. We would, threfore, like to be associated with the constitutional discussions. It is, however, not our intention to embarass you or to add to your difficulties. But we should be failing in our duty to the people here and in India if we do not exercise our democratic right to impress upon you the aspirations of the Jammu people and to urge you to incorporate their views and demands in suitable terms in the constitution of the State.

I would, therefore, feel obliged if you give an oppertunity to discuss things with you in order that we may come to a unantous agreement on the constitutional question.

# Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

Central Office: JAMMU.

# जम्मू एएड कश्मीर प्रजा परिषद

वेन्द्रीय-कार्यालय: जम्मू।

· O	DATED

Such an interview shall moreover, lead to the lessening of internal tensions and pave the way for smooth acceptance of the decision proposed to be taken.

I can assure you that I shall always endeavour to reach reasonable compromise so that we can pull jointly through this national crises. I am also of the view that Government also on its part should not do things in a way that makes our position difficult before people.

Yours Sincerely,

(Prem Nath Dogra)

President, Praja Parishad,

Honble Bakhshi Ghulam Mohd, Prime Minister,

Jammu and Kaslunir Government,

Jammu.

# DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY, AMRITSAR.

on Feb 6, 1954, however, The Constituent Assembly of Jak had satisfied the state accession with the Indian union entered by Mahargia Hari Singh a way back on oct 27,

Just after the en Josemand of the accession with the Indian Republic the Greneral Council of the All I the Praja parishad adopted—the Jollowing resolution:

The Resolution of The All JAK Praje pasishad potential of Feb. 1954 completed with the Maharaja's signing of the Instrument of accession, a Constituent Assembly was convened. The elections for the same were held. Circumstances were created to confirm the belief that they were not being conducted in a free atmosphere. The Praja Parialad had to boycot it because there was no alternative in these clroumstances.

The General Council demands that since the purpose of the Constituent Assembly has been fulfilled, new elections be held affording opportunity to every individual citizen in the State to take part in the legislatures of the State.

1954

The second report of the Drafting Committee of the state Consembly was Selbmitteel by M.R. Miz Doesen on Feb, 11, 1954. It was not non else then the Draft Constitution. It was based on the decisions taken by The Consendsly, on the seforts of The Basic Psinciples Committee, The Advisory committee on Fundamental Rights and citizenship and such other dicisuous as mere taken Towns Bigitized by eGangotri

Pt. Prem Nath Dogra, then, wrote a letter to Bakshi Ghulam Mohd., the Prime Minister of the State on 13th February, 1954,184 in which he, once again, explained the stand of his party and his objection to the proposed report of the Drafting Committee. He stressed that his party was and had always been for the full application of the Constitution of India to the State. Even the Delhi Agreement never satisfied them, he added. Nevertheless in view of International situation and other factors. he stressed, they had been giving full support to him and his government. He pleaded that the proposed report of Drafting Committee was far from satisfactory. He made him remember that when he submitted certain shortcomings in the reports of Basic Principles Committee and the Fundamental Rights

Office copy of the said letter found in the old files of Praja Parishad, Office of Jana Sangh, Jammu,

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Committee, he had assured him that the final draft would be perfectly in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution of India, with the exception of protection for Land Abolition Laws and the superior rights for the 'Permanent Residents' in matters cor cerning acquisition of immovable property and employment in Govt, service. But the provisions in the proposed Draft report fell short of even the matters agreed upon in Delhi Agreement. He objected to the proposed indirect election to the Parliament, the denial of special leave by the Supreme Court, curtailment of peoples' rights and circumscription of the application of Indian Constitution and whittling down the fundamental rights in a variety of ways.

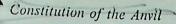
He accused that the whole thing was being rushed through the Consembly without giving adequate opportunity to the public for expressing their opinion and making suggestions for improvement of the Draft Constitution. While concluding he requested him to go through the proposed draft very carefully and remove the defects to allay public apprehensions. Pt. Mauli Chandra Sharma, the President of All India Bhartiya Jana Sangh, pointed out Jana Sangh's 'right' objections to the proposed Kashmir Constitution. 185 These were summed up as under:

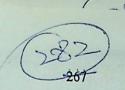
The relationship as envisaged in it left much to be desired and it was doubtful whether it would satisfy the aspirations of the people of the State, who had been struggling for the last six years to be one with their Indian brethren as also of the people of the rest of India v ho had been making all kinds of sacrifices for the security and welfare of the State. A glaring flaw was that it conceded to the State the right to discriminate against the citizens of the rest of India in the matter of entry, residence, employment and a quistion of immovable property in that State. By creating a category of Permanent Residents of the State as distinct from other Indian citizens a Dual Citizenship had been brought into existence in that State which was opposed to the very basis of their Constitution.

The provisior for the nomination of the State Representatives to the parliament on the recommendation of the State

185 Organiser (Weegly), New Delhi, Vol. VII, No. 41 dated May 24, 1954, p. 7.

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legislature instead of their election by a direct vote of the people as in other States, deprived the people of the State of their basic democratic rights as Indian citizens. Why should the State have its own Election Commissioner and its own census operation? The extension of the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India to the State was essential not only to create confidence in the people about the fairness of the elections there but also to make them feel that they were the citizens of India.

Another objectionable provision was the right given to State Legislature to permit and regulate the entry of those who had left the State and gone over to Pakistan. Such movement of individuals or groups between India and Pakistan must be regulated by the Central Govt. and should not be left to individual States.

The provisions about Fundamental Rights and extension of jurisdiction of the Supreme Court also left much to be desired. The rights given to the State Legislature to abridge the fundamental rights of the people of the State under the excuse that a part of that State was under Pakistan's occupation, was not convincing at all. It only confirmed the genuine fears of the people in and outside the State that the State was sought to be run on totalitarian lines.

By leaving residuary powers with the State and abridging those which had been given to Centre, the President's order had not succeeded in terminating the anomalous position of the State as a Unit of India. It had in it the germs of a danger which the Government of India ought to have visualised in the view of their recent experience.

Mr. N.C. Chatterji, 186 the President of Akhil-Bharat Hindu Mahasabha, while pointing out some lacunae in the State Constitution said that the defined function of the Supreme Court of India in Kashmir was to achieve colesion in the field of law and justice. The great drawback was that serious encroachment had been made both on civil liberties and on the sanctity of property, he added.

186. Organiser (Weekly), Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 9 dated August 15, 1954.

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It was a matter of regret, he said, that Art. 136 of Indian Constitution had not yet been applied to the State, and that no citizen of the State could apply to the Supreme Court for Special leave against the judgement of local High Court.

Moreover Art. 19 of the Constitution of India which guaranteed basic human rights had been made practically mitigatory in Kashmir because of a special rider which made existing Legislation abrogatory of fundamental rights not questionable in the Court of law. Again the denial of any compensation to expropriated owners practically amounted to naked confiscation and that was against the spirit of the Constitution of India.

The demand of the people of Jammu for provincial autonomy was ignored, he added. He further pointed out that even Hindi, the national language was not receiving due recognition.

The critics of the work of the State Consembly and the Constitution it was hammering into shape, were opposed to the special status and privileges accorded to J & K as a constitutent unit of the Indian Union. In particular they did not approve of the curtailment of fundamental rights (as given in the Indian Constitution) in their application to the State; some restricts on the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in relation to the State; a dual citizenship for "permanent residents" of the State; a blanket permission to return to the State, for the States' migrants to Pakistan; distribution of land to the tillers, without any compensation to the owner thereof; the exclusion of the jurisdiction of the Union Election Commission over the State as also that of according to the compensation of the Line of the Union Election Commission over the State as also that

## Pt. P.N. Dograis Memorandem to president of sondia Republic dated 1-4-54.

Die Bereilener der Despident of Indian Walen, Millik

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To id please pour impliancy,

have been recently rade by the JAM State authorities to the Control Covernment, this representation is most respectfully withited on behalf of the Fraje Parished of that State for your Threshance hind and sympathetic consideration.

The time to be could that there proposeds countitute a little advance or the existing position. And, coming, no they so in the value of the decision of Jan Countituent Assembly to consider and finaline the accordion of this State to the Indian Union, they have been released, not because they take up for towards our goal, but because they soom to have been according in a dissemble opinit from that which animated the Abdullah Coversment.

to strike the jerring note of praise it econe elecut churlich to strike the jerring note of critical appraised, but this to a duty which the Vreja Parished over to the Vreja when it represents. They have consistently domested that the Indian Consistents be made applicable to this State just as it applies to the other Part 'S' States. In the parents of this objective they have redergone great energiace and enforming, being summined that without achieving it, there can be no passeful and henourable life for these in this Etate. They were led to entertain sectain topes by definite accuraces, but these parasons, but these parasons, the people offseted by these have on the whole were twelvent they with mixed techings including there of franticiant.

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designation of the course might entail for them.

It is a pity that the Control Covernment have never elevired from the proper queriers the this downed is being made and how for it is juntified. On the contrary, they have been uses responsive to the opposite demand of the National Conference leading which is to the effect that this State should have a openial privileged status different from that of the other "Durt 'D' Stato". The wonder to that it has never occured to the officendes whis control Control Covernment that, in the ultimate analysis, both these demands, so contradictory in their formulation and intent, wally spring from similar apprehensions. But the feare of the Enclosed Leaders are wholly becelean, because admittedly they have received the most denerous treatment from the Gererment and the people of India during the last old years and more. On the other hand, the approlarations of the James people are fully justified by the emeriones thay have had of "Go called Popular rate" during the come period. They have been reduced to the level of petitied unfouchables in their hereland. Their genuine voice has been effectively that out from the Constituent Appealety. The Construct formed by the Conference Perty to mitter responding mar responsive, to James people. The decre of Coverment neryless are closed to them, and those already in warviet are being juried out. The administration is consupt and inefficient and it is difficult for the commo man to obtain redross in the ordinary course. Returnlly the Jerma prople seck the projection which none provisions of the Indian Constitution, and rous ergens of the Central authority, night possibly afford Them, But the Backwird Leaders decire to retain the best of bolk wilder they count automics for themsolves in relation to the Central enthanities of the Indian Union and at the some the they right to midianted mitoency in the chaps of en unafteredia firma majorsty in relation to the Jerma people. In fairnoon they should necess the case treatment to the inther Continued cinet -

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as in Commiss by them for themselves from the Indian Union.
This logitimate decome of the Jerra pusple is possitions
if ever on the false plea that it is confined to reactionary.
Corresplict, and vested interests.

The problem that has arisen between Jerem and Kenimir to expectability the same problem as has energed between the Soulce State and the Indian Ometitution was deviced to actual the problem that the Indian Constitution was deviced to actual the problem that the Indian Constitution was deviced to actual the problem that the Indian Constitution was deviced at a mice adjustments in the body politic and they arrived at a mice adjustment of those claims in the frame work of that Constitution. This mice belones and adjustment makes it eminently ritted to provide a solution of the assentially became problem that Indees up in this State. This is a strong reason sky a solution of this problem abould be attempted by applying the Indian Constitution in its entirety to this State.

Vicinity against the above becomes the amenticated ory character of the new proposals becomes quite apparent.

An expension to the new proposals becomes quite apparent.

Our indian Constitution in its entirety mas intended to be.

They sutilate its especial unity middlessize without leaving a feir applied arrangement. They now to have been eleverly devised in order to achieve the following objectives, hazily:

- (1) To retain an much power on pountities
- (a) To part with an little of it us might be inevitable;
- (3) To let qualifications and exceptions smallew that is compaded;
- (4) To make the power retained the close monopoly es an unabbrokie timed majority; and
- (5) To excure that the resulting set up shall not be eltered without the compent of that respective

VIII Econ of the expedients adopted by the frames or these proposite in order to achieve the above objectives are mentioned ; helder vin

(2) Nuviewentel eights have been editied down and reduced to a modicary; continued shoot -d-

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- (2) The Jurichiotics and possess of the Copress Court
  have been cartailed to prevent affects encourant
  of fundamental and other rights;
- (3) This control over the State Righ Court her been rotained in order that the local Judiciary may not becaus truly independent and enhances the executive authorities:
- (4) A nort of dual citizenship has been decated, within the Indian Chilen to the eternal class and lamiliation
  - (I) the may treffic from Relieten in the metter of estilement within this State has been provided for
  - (6) Direct chections to the lines of the Poople from
    the State have been evolded, in order that the
    cuthentic voice of the people of this State may not
    be learn even in the Indian Publicants
  - (7) the penter verted in the central organs of cutherity in the Indian Chian in relation to the other Tract I blates have been cartailed even in matters of accion in necessary:
  - (6) The statue of the Coder-i-Nyamat has been made inferior even to that of a Covernor, and his position procurious by locating him at the narry of a projective and on wealthroble fixed rejority in the local localeture:
  - (o) Even the Dellid Part has not been rully deplemented;
  - (10) Cartein provisions of the Indian Constitution which are applicable to this State at present are prepared to be repulsed.
  - (11) The equality and powers of the Indian Union to the prompt and effective action in relation to this State at time of emergency have been drighted;
  - (13) Proviolene relating to efficative and independent audit and financial central have been existed; and
  - (23) Drestic and conflicatory "Lowledge Laws are proposed to be Legalized. Continued states +5-

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There are educate other objectional features of these compared but it is immersioner to detail than all. Some of them all the proposals appared as the encoding detailed something of the proposals proceeds. Insuch has, henover, been able to the three proposals give no indication of the fine proposals give no indication of the fine factor of the contrary they better great distribution of the restrang they better great distribution of the various organs of the Indian Control anthority including the Taxlisment, the President and the Supreme Court.

Such an important matter as Constitution raising should lote been directlated for public opinion todors being finally provide which it is an electron fact this Assembly is a place of the fire party close. The Constitution about not have been breaked and instable in a secret number behind closed flaces, without associating any person unconsisted with the foresteart or the Assably even in an advisory capacity at my reace of their formulation or consideration. These facts choose the Community of India to assume these particular mathematics and consult the Jesus spinion which according them finally.

Come points miling for countdenstion which the detailed counting of these proposate has revealed, are belesty noted belows.

- (2) Artista Lat its Julion Constitutions.

  The new proceeds review which it is proposed to edit to this Artista will in contain respects overlap the exteting provise.
- (a) Restrict the Anthon Constitutions

The part in to apply to this State from January 25 1950, but the State account to the Indian Coin Concern 25 Concern Del 1964. That will be the status of the people of the State between these two dates. Will they be decide to have been elieus during this interval.

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## (3) Authora, Xie

The proposed to odd a new Province to this article

Than Cheikh Malanasa Abdullah, ProPales Minister of

the State, know that the policy underlying the proposed

Province might ocuse apprehensizes in cortain quarters.

The trick to allow these frame in the Statement which he

rade before the State Assembly on August 12, 1988,

in the Collowing words:-

ert han been maggested in eretell questare that this
protection has been provided only for those residents
of the State who are at present strendth in Dekloten.
I would know to make it clear, as I have cloted
envisor, that this protection will openate only when
the conditions are normal one such conditions naturally
proporty that the prostitionant of the dislocated
propolation, whother localing or non-localing count to
one sided or unitatory."

ir puch to while the antention it closed to district and expressive stated in the Decriet and not Less berief in value deligentien of the madrice Hinister the country, an the new trovdes will byspate to contou Tadian distinguistry, and also because the middent mother deals with, and restate, Torotte raintines, the four which to to regotate this matter stand be expected by the control, and not by the fitate Legislature, Thirdly, so the conditions are not Month to become normal to the moon technics, there need be no exercise butter in adding this province it can be added when the conditions become normal. tentity at mount to hope in viny that that part of the Japan and Radante State which in at propert in the nomited at dated has appred topopation to matheman minimosited to the "Lund Machada territory," is not Anderbied with the characters be controld with the territory now included in District." The Continued clust -7-

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distinction. They probably had the former territory in view but have used the latter expression to describe it. They neem to have railed into this error because they have copied blindly the language of the entering proviso without realizing that it became inaccurate in the context in which they have used it. In view of these conditioning ond also because there is no real unjointy, it seems expedient to drop the ideas adding the yespeed to come expedient to drop the ideas adding the yespeed.

## (4) Archola In Charlestella Elektrick

The practical effect of adding the new clause (7) to Article 10, as has been proposed, will be that for five years there will be no "sundamental" rights in the Distr, and thus what was intended to be granted under alones (2) will have been taken any under Clause (7) for that period. It is of the very assence of the franchemental " rights which are provided in the Indian Constitution, that the Legislature should not have the checket power to impose such restrictions on their emprior as the courts consider to be unreasonable. If the Legislature is made the cale absolute judge of the reasonableness of any restrictions which it wish deem fit to impose on their exercise, then much rights come to be "Jundamental" and became ordinary legal rights. It would be more bound vary of dealing with this ratter is the proposed clause (7) ware to be worded as follows:

m(y) For a period of five years those ditimons of their who (unfortancedly) happen also to be the personant residents of the State of Joseph and Resister, shall not exercise the rights conferred under clause (1), except to the extent to thick the legislature of the State may, in its checkute discretion, permit then to do so."

Asthe Alecretica is not to be "Judiciel", it need not necessarily be judicious and may be expected.

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# (6) Article 22 ( Prayentive detention)/

The proposed amendment is neither necessary nor fair; but, if it must be ande, its duration should be limited to a period not exceeding five years.

# (6) Article 31 (Property Fights)

Clause (3) of this Article should not be omitted as has been proposed. In the first place, it provides a safeguard which certainly is not less necessary in the case of this State than it is for the rest of India. Secondly, in the matter of land reforms it is desireable to aim at a measure of uniformity. Thirdly, it is not clear why this clause is proposed to be cmitted when the Proviso to to clause (1) of Article 31-A is being retained, as both refer to similar matters.

# (7) Article 31-A ( Asquisition of Estates):

The proposed definition of "Estate" is needlessly and unfairly too wide. Secondly, the definition of Estate" given in our law relating to land tenures (Tenancy Act) which is saved by the existing sub-clause (a) of clause (2) of Article 31-2 could have served the purpose in view. Thirdly, it is undesire—the provide a fixed definition of Estate" in the Constitution itself, because it may become necessary to very the definition from time to time, or place to place, or in order to suit various purposes but constitutions cannot be easily amended ever even when it become necessary to do so.

# (8) Article 35-A ( privileges of State " Subjects)

This article, if added, will create dual citizenship and retard the growth of common nationality and classless society. It will be a bar sinister on the Indian escutcheon and a disfiguring blot on the Indian constitution. Secondly if its addition addition is unavoidable in view of the present mood of the Kashwiri leaders, its duration should be limited to a period not exceeding five wears. Thirdly, even in that case, sub-caluse (iii) of Clause (b) should be omitted, because " settlement" is a vague term, and it is not at all clear what it is intended to include over and move that which is already Greekarsex covered by sub-clause (i), (ii) and (iv). Fourthly, it should

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new, or enlarge the existing, disablities. Lastly . the saving ( prace of Article 35-A should be limited to existing laws, and s should not sever laws imposing new, or enlarging the existing, disabilities.

## (9) Part (1v) Article 36 to 61 ( Directive Principles) .

If these articles are proposed to be emitted it is a matter for profound regret. These have been evolved after mature thought and long experience, and should guide the course of legislation and administrative action in every enlightened State, There should be no hasitation is adopting them because they are directory, and not mandatory in the sense of being furnished.

## (10) Articles 54. 55 and 81 ( Parliamentary Elections) -

In the first place, it is unfair to deprive the people of the State of their right to choose by direct election their representatives in the House of the Prople. When direct elections were held for the State Assembly, electoral rolls were prepared on the basis of adult franchise. Such rolls can be prepared also for the Parliamentary elections. If the popula--tion of the State can be assumed to be 44,10,000 for purposes of Article 55, as has been proposed, there is no reasons why the the same figure should not be adopted for purposes for Article At, , Beaundly, it would be a misnamer to categories the representatives of the State as " elected" members for purposes of Article 55, as has been proposed, when , at the same time it is being clearly provided under grticle 81, that they shall 1 be"appointed" by the President, Their status will still be the that that of " appointed " (i.e. nominated) members even though they might have been appointed on the recommendation of the State Legislature. At present they are " chosen by the President in consultation with the Government of the State" . Bat is is now proposed that " they shall be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Legislature of the "State". It would be simpler to say that hereafter the representetives of this State in both the houses of Parliament shall

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commence and production on

census can be held in this State.

Assembly. Thirdly, it is wrong to provide in the Constitution itself that the population of the State shall be deemed to be 14,10,000. This figure is bound to vary frequently changes. Perhaps, the best expedient would be to make a temporary provision on the lines of Article 357, until a regular

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(11) Article 73 ( Executive power of the Union) .

This article is at present in force without any modification in this State by virtue of the Constitution (Application) to Jameu and Kashmir) Order, 1950. But it is now proposed to repeal certain words from the Provise to clause it is not proposed to repeal certain words from the Provise to clause it is not proposed to reason has been given for the proposed repeal, and none is apparent. Considering that clause 1 (a) deals with matters with respect to which the Parliament has power to make make laws, and that the whole of A ticle 73 deals with the extent of the executive power of the Union, it would be better either to cait the provise altogether or to leave it unmodified. Any tempering with it might make katters werse.

(12) Article 136 ( Special leave to appeal by the Supreme Court

Under Article 136 the Supreme Court is empowered to grant in its discretion. special leave to appeal before itself, but it is proposed to omit this article and deny this power to the that court in relation to this State. This would be a very unwise and serious emission. Without this power the extension of the jurisdiction of that Court to this State will remain illusory, and the people will not have full confidence and assurance that they are getting justice and protection of their rights like other citizens of India.

(15). Article 139 ( Additional powers of the Suprem Court).

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This article is applicable to this State at present but is is now /r proposed to repeal it. Obviously this is a a retrograde step and should be avoided.

(14) Article 149 and 180 ( Comptroller and Auditor General)

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It is necessary to apply these articles to this State in the interest of sound financial admisistration and economy, as the present state of affairs in this respect is far from satisfactory. Secondly, such application becomes almost inescapable new that he State Government is going to getits shave from the common pool of certain central taxes. As the taxed to be so shared are raised from the people of India as a whole, all of them as tax-appears are entitled to the assuration and protection which these articles are intended to suppoly. Thirdly, the Central Government would be failing in its duty if it did not satisfy that he funds supplied by it to the Government of this State were being utilized properly for the intended purposes. This duty the Government of India can discharge effectively only if these articles are applied to this State.

#### (15) Article 250

Article 255 applies to this State under the President's Application Order of 1950, but it is now proposed to omit it. There is no justification for such omission.

#### (16) Article 259 .

Article 259 applies at present to this State subjectto the specified modification, but it is now proposed to omit it it altogehter. The retention of this article is very necessary.

#### 17) Article 261.

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The whole of this article applied at present to this State but it is now proposed to omit the words " made by Parliament" from clause (2) of it. This proposal seems to have been made in ignorance of the scope and purpose of clause (2). If the manner of, and the conditions for, proving public acts, recode and judicial preceedings of the Union and of every State. (including the Jammu and Kashair State) are to be regulated for the whole of India on a uniform tasis, as they should be, evidently the only law that can do this effectively and appropriately is the law made by Parliament. Therefore, it is clearly to the adventage of all concerned that this article

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should continue to apply without any modification to this state, as it does at present.

## (18) Article 201 ( Privy Purse Susa)

This article should be retained subject to certain obvious modifications.

## (40) BELL XVII ( Official Perrokali

This part should be made applicable to he Jammu and Kashrir Seate for all purposes. Considering that Urdu is not the spaken language of any considerable section of the people in any part of the State, its imposition as the official or reg -ional language of the State and as the medium of instruction in schools or in collegs, will not be Air, In any case, Hindi and should have equal status with Urdu in this respect, if not throughout the State, at least in the James Procince. The media n Af instruction in the Primary or basic classes should be the mother-tongue, but the guardians should have the option of declaring the nother tongula of heir words. In any case, whatever is adopted as the official or regional or motherlanguage in the State or any part of it. "it should be permitted to be written both in Arabic and Hindi characters at the option of the persons concerned, and I to teaching should be arranged and permitted in both characters.

# (20) Part XVIII (Emergency povers)

It is proposed to omit Articles 355, 357 and 360 and to assend article 352. Under article 355 which is being retained, it is the duty of the Union to protect this State, not only as against external assession, but also against internal disturbance and also to ensure that the Government of this State is carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. The President of the Union with the desprived of the power to act effectively and promptly, in discharge of the duty imposed under article 355, if ampended in the manner proposed. There should be no divorce between responsibility and power. This Part should apply to this State in its entirety without any modification.

(21) Part XIX Article 361 ( Sader-1-Hyasat)

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There should be no confusion, Tagueness or fonflict about the the position of the Sadar-i-Ryasat, but such is likely to be the the result if reference is retained to the State consitition 1 in the new clause (5) which it is proposed to add to this article. Keeping in view his position and functions, he should be free from local influences and harassment.

Experience of the action ne had to take in the recent emergency should suggest caution in this respect.

(23) Article 362.; The retention of this artivle is necessary for reasons which are obvious.

### (23) Article, 365.

It is necessary to retain this article if the powers of the Union Executive under the Constitution are real and not illusory; if it is not to be exposed to mockery and reduced to impotence in relation to this State: if, in the absence of an effective sanction, its lawful directions are not to be fleated with impunity; if its duties and responsibilities under Article 355 are to be carried out satisfactority; and if the Government of the State is to be carried on in accordance with which the provisions of the Constitution.

### (24) Articel 372

Article 372 makes mention of Article 385. This reference is imappropriate because Article 395 is proposed to be omitted.

(88) Article 374 (Advisory Board)

It is proposed to amend Clause (4) of A ticle 374 in order to provide for the application of the State Board of Judi-cial Advisors and the transfer the appeals pending before it for disposal to the Supreme Court of Indian, but this is likely y to make matters worse in one respect. The Board's present jurisdiction is wider than that proposed to be conferred on the the Supreme Court. This will result ingreater finality attach-ing to the decisons of the local Courts, because fewer appeals will lie to the Supreme Court than lie to be Board'st present.
Moreover, the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in relation to the Jamma and Kashmir Courts will not be as wide as that which it exercises in relation to the courts of the

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Part VX read with Part VII of the Indian Constitution relating to Middle Part VX read with Part VII of the Indian Constitution relating to Middle Part Not being Amax made applicable to the judiciary of this State. It cannot, therefore, be pretended that the judiciary of this State including its High Court will commend the mass measure of confidence and prestige which the judiciary of the other States commands. If the confidence of the people in the Justice administered in this State is not to be underwined, it is necessary that this State be brought up to the level of the level of the Indian Constitution relating to Judiciary just as they apply to the other States by applying to it all the provisions of the Indian Constitution relating to Judiciary just as they apply to the other States by applying to it all the present position when the Advisory Board is functioning, is much better than that which will result from these proposals after the Board has been abolished.

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#### ( 25) Article 5871-

has been completed in this State, because, until the there should be some provision in the Constitution under which authoritistive estimates of its population could be made, and varied from from time to time, for purposes of elections. Of courses some modification of this articel will be necessary in its application to this State, because the three years' period mentioned in it has has already expired. The estimate of 44,10,000 proposed for purposes of articles 54 and 55 cannot remain a fixed figure for all time, and will have to be changed from time to time, but it should not be necessary to szend the Constitution itself every time a correction of this figure becomes necessary.

## (27) Schedule VII List I. Entry NO.\$ 3

This entry at present applies to this State without any modification, but it is now proposed to curtail its scope considerably. There is no apparent reason to justify this course. The expression administration of cantonements is not wide enought to cover all the functions included in this entry.

Evidently, the Army authorities need comprehensive powers in this respect. It should not be forgotten that this State is

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grall war area and theet the of Sing graies are t each other on its border.

# (30) Echelele VII, List I Botry Nose

This entry is applicable to this State at present, but it is proposed to omit it altogether, without the elightest justification . It should be retained, because its subject Matter is connected with Defence, Foreign Affairs, and the Security of India, which are the exclusive concern of the unien.

## (19) Minth Schedule\_

he many as six laws of this State are proposed to be included in this schedule. It is inequitable and unnecessary to protect some of these laws in this manner. In particular, the Distressed Debtors' Relief Act, the Alienation of Land Act and the whole of the Tenancy Act need not find a place in this Bohedule.

Yours Bithfully.

Dated -4-54.

Prem Nath Dogra) Janua and Kashmir Praja Parished HATAS RIGI, THIRAL SECRETARY AND JEST PARTSHAD JAMEN OF 226

been more in a resolution of the Matieral Conference general council

3rd 1000 5 1 1954.

monarchy and the undoing of the land-reforms in the State, is an absolutely lie. Our stand regarding headship of the State has repeatedly been made clear that in this respect Jamau & Kashmir State be treated like other States in India.

Cur criticism of the State government's land reforms has come out to be true correct in the very words of the government's appointed Warir Committee. It is absolutely wrong to say that the Parishad stands for dispossession of the passant's newly acquired lands.

Parished's stand regarding the accession issue is now well known to every body in this country. We stand for full and first accession of the State of J & W with Indian Union and the application of the constitution in its entirity to this State. This is no way means complete merger, but it surely fails to accommodate the unpatriotic tend of independence and loose relationship of the State with the Union.

The success of our struggle is clearly indicated by the fact that those who once stood for State's limited accession, today take pride in denouncing their previous policies and declarations to which they themselves were a party.

All these allegations gim only at maligning Praja.

Parish d - the only and the strongest opposition in the State.

Parished is proud to proclaim that it exists for the moble and patriotic cause of unification of the State of Jammu & Kashmir with mother India and shall consider no sacrifice too great to achieve this end.

(On Frakesh Mengi)
General Secretary,
All J & H Proje Parishad
Jaran.

7.199.95.

Pt. Prem Nath Dogra, also submitted a representation to Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, the then Home Minister Govt. of India on 24th July, 1956. 182 A copy of the memorandum, submitted to President of India on 1-10-54,183 was also sent to him. He pointed out that the people of Jammu were opposed to 1 & KState having a separate Constitution, as distinct and different from the Constitution of India. The representation pointed out that Praja Parishad, which had the backing of a large majority of the people of Jammu province at least, was definitely opposed to any distinction being made between Jammu and Kashmir State and other Constituent Units of India as that would per-

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180. Ibid., p. 4.

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181. Ibid.

182. A typed copy of representation was found in Jana Sangh's old files record, Jana Sangh Head Office, Jammu.

183. The memorandum bears the date 1-4-1954.

#### Constitution of the Anvil



petuate a sense of separatism in a large section of the people of Kashmir which was being exploited fully by Pakistan to the detriment of the interests of Kashmir State as also of India as a whole. Pt. Dogra pointed out that the exact character of the Constitution being drafted, was not known to them. But indications were that they proposed to stick to their original plan of making the Constitution distinct and different from the Constitution of India in every material respect. They had learnt, he added, that it did not provide for the auditing of State accounts by the Auditor General of India, nor did it accept the supervision of Election Commission of India over the elections in the State; the appointment of the judges of the State High Court was being left to the discretion of Sadar-i-Riyasat, who was a nominee of the President and that Supreme Court of India was not being given full jurisdiction over Kashmir; Elections for the State representatives to the Lok Sabha were sought to be kept indirect and no provision for reservation of seats for Harijans through double member constituencies was being made. All this was most perturbing, said he. While concluding the representation he requested him to see that these objectionable features of the proposed Constitution of the State were removed and that it was brought completely in line with the Constitution of India. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

# DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY,

AMRITSAR.

The following is The Jule text
The representation:

The Text of the Representatives Submitted to Shri Govind. Sallabh Parat The Then Home Minister

Grovt, of India 1

To

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Home Minister, Government of India, New Delhi.

Respected Sir,

Jammu and Kashmir State constituent Assembly is expected to finalise the Constitution of the State shortly. In this connection we would like to place the following submission before you.

We had submitted a memorandum, a copy of which is attached herewith, to the Honourable President of 7 dia on 1. 10. 1954 regarding the draft proposals that were then formulated by the State Constituent Assembly about the Constitution for the State.

We had then submitted that we are opposed to the Jammu and Kashmir State having a seperate constitution distinct and different from the Constitution of India in the making of which the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir State had also taken part. We had then made it clear that Praja Parishad which has the backing of a limajority of the people of Jammu province at least is definitely opposed to any distinction being made between Jammu and Kashmir State and other constituent units of India because that would perpetuate the sense of separation in a large section of the people of Kashmir which is being exploited by Pakistan to the detriment of the interests of Kashmir State as also of India as a whole.

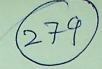
We do not know as to what is the exact character of the Constitution now being drafted by the Kashmir Government. But indications are that they propose to stick to their original plan of making the Constitution

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for Jammu and Kashmir distinct and different from the Constitution of India in every material respect. We have learnt from reliabe sources that it does not provide for the auditing of State accounts by the Auditor General of India nor does it accept the supervision of Election Commission of India over the elections in the State. The appointment of the judges of the State High Court is being left in the hands of Sadre-Riyasut who is elected by the legislature and is not a nominee of the President and that Supreme Court of India is not being given full jurisdiction over Kashmir, Elections for the State representatives to the Lok Sabha are sought to be kept indirect as heretofore and no provision for reservation of seats for Harijans through double member constituencies is being made. The present practice of reserving some constituencies exclusive for Harijans deprive non-Harijans of these constituencies of the right to stand for election in their home constituenei. oies.

All this is most perturbing. We have had quite lon, experience of the highhanded way in which the present State deverament has been playing with the rights, honour and liberties of the people of the State. The experience of the recent Municipal and Panchyat elections in the State has confirmed our fears and doubts about the totalitarian aims of the men now in power in the State.

We have been putting up with all this in the hope that the dark night will after all end and we will be able to breathe fresh air when the State is fully brought under the Constitution of India. But that hope is becoming dim and the prospect of perpetuation of the present one party oppressive regime is looming large before our eyes. This has naturally made all the freedom loving and democrat



minded people of the Binte desperate,

We, therefore, bag to request you to see that these objectionable features of the proposed constitution of the State are removed and that it is brought completely in line with the Constitution of India.

Yours sincerely,

Dated. 24th. July, 1956.

(Prom Nath Dogra), President,

All Jammu and Kashmir, Praja Parishad.

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TO THE MEMOTERICAN PROPERTY OF

Ave Prime Linister, Covernment of Indian Union,

Sir.

We feel it our patriotic duty to bring to your notice through the following memorandum the growing deterioration in the internal situation of Jammu and Kashmir State which if not improved in time, is bound to affect adversely the wider interest of India as a whole. In need for greater attention and speedy improvement in the situation has been made imperative by the development in Pakistan and intensification of the Pakistani propanganda of preparation for sabotage and war from inside and outside the strategic part of India.

Eleven years have passed since annu and Kashmir State which has been an integral part of India, histomically, geographically and culturally all through the ages, acceded to India according to the procedure laid down in the Mount batten Plan. It was then hoped that the anamolies in the relationship of Jammu and Kashmir with the rest of India will be removed, and its people, as citizens of India, will be given opportunity to run a new leaf in their lives and live as equal citizens of India enjoying the rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of India.

But these hopes and aspirations have remained unfulfilled so for The Government of India has thought it fit to lay store more by a few individuals than by the peoples of the State as such. And these individuals, first Shiekh Abdullah and now Bakhshi Ghulam Mohazaod, are more interested in keeping themselves in power by denying to the people their basic rights and liberties, than in developing a spirit of unaction of lights in the people of the State and their brethren in the record of India. It is this desire to keep power in his own history match.

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motivated Shiekh Abdullah to insist upon a separate Constitution for the State which have his and his Government special and unchallenged powers to ride through stood over the basic rights, liberties and aspirations of the people to be one with the rest of India.

The people, therefore, raised their voice against his separatist and dictatorial policies. Under the leadership of Praja Parishad thousands of people suffered incarcerations and scores of people faced police bullets in the defence of India's tri-colour flag in this part of India. This epic of suffering and sacrifice culminated in the supreme sacrifice of late Dr. Shyama Prasad Mooker Ji in Srinaga Jail, which finally opened the eyes of the people and Government of India to the realities of the situation in the State and ambition of Shiekh Abdullah.

With downfall of Abdullah and rise of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad to power hopes were raised once again that anamolies in the relationship of Jammu and Kashmir State with the rest of India will be removed once for all and that disabilities from which the people of the State are made to suffer for the pleasure of the ruling Junta will be done away with. But we are pained to say that even though five years have passed since that change over the people's hopes and aspirations about becoming one with their compatriots of the rest of India in all respects have not only remained unfulfilled but what is worse they are even being deprived of the most elementary rights and liberties. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad in order to perpetuate himself in lower is following such policies as have saped all good will of the people which he initially enjoyed. He has become a ruthless dictator trying to keep himself in power by all means fair or foul. Absence of full jurisdication of Supreme Court of India has enabled him and him

Government to curb the basic liberties and freedom of the people who are being denied the freedom of speech, association and expression in so many dubious ways. What is worse the elections to the State Legislature and to the local Panchayats are being so rugged as to make them a mere force. Some glaring and incontrovertible example of this ruthless suppression of civil liberties lawlessness and rugging of election are given below :-

1. Interference by the persons belonging to the party in power in the administration of the State is very commonly seen in the Janua and Kashmir State. If the administration takes upon itself to transfer a person against whom the administration receives numerous complaints such transfers are later withheld on the intereference of the members belonging to the National Conference. One such instance is that of Mr. Dr.R.S.Modi Health Officer of the Jammu Municipality. This complaints have increased to such an extent that the "Kashmir Post" a pro-Government paper had to write in its edition dated January 10th,

"We would particularly like to draw the attention of the Government towards two or three main defects which are at the root of over-all in-efficiency in the administration.

Firstly undue interference with day to day working of the administration by the Political executives (Ministers etc.) should be completely stopped. This single factor is responsible for the lack of the qualities of efficiency, initiative, imagination, leadership and taking of responsibility among the civil service. This undue interference in administrative matters is also responsible for growing inefficiency and corruption. There have been instances to prove that this undue interference on the part of some of the Ministers has resulted in undoing of flouting some of the decisions of the Government."

This is not only with this Government alone but since the very inception of popular rule in the state it has been faced by the people very often. Even the Chief Conservator of Forests had to complain against the undue interference of the Dational Conference Organization in his administrative affairs. This interference has created

K.T.O.

in-efficiency in the administration and induces the Government employees also to take part in the party politics. The Government machinery act on the advice of the National Conference Organization and they do all foul acts to see that their masters are pleased in one way or other with the result that the people do not get justice at their hands because they do not dare to complain against their high-handed acts. We have several times demanded from the Government of Jammu and Mashmir that the Government machinery should be left aloof to decide matters for themselves and not to be interfered but this advice and sugg stion has been ridiculed and not weighed in its true perspective.

The administration has become top heavy. In the days of the maharaja there were only five Ministers to look after the affairs of the entire state including that part which has now been occupied by the akistan and at present there are 12 Ministers to look after 2/3rd part of the State. Not only that the Police expenditure in the State has increased from 16 lacs to 64 lacs with the result that there is lesser efficiency. Murderers go un-traced and people abstain from reporting the offences in the police station for getting the offenders penalised. Their confidence in the efficiency inventigation and inquiry is completely shaken. Besides that superfulous posts are being created to accommodate the retired hands and also persons in the good books of the rulers. The Office of the Constitutional Advisor is still being retained to accommodate another retired hand. Recently again a new post of Chairman Land Laws Committee has been created to accommodate the retiring Financial Commissioner.

To 30 Tehsils of the entire state there were previously 30 Tehsilders with same number of Maib Tehsilders but at present there are about 60 Tehsilders and about 125 their Naibs. Besides the above mentioned superfluous posts special advisors, and Special Officers

attached to various Departments of the Jammu and Kashmir State have bee appointed with a plea to bring the administration in tone with rest of India.

## 3. FOOD SITUATION

The food situation in the State has deteriorated since the year, 1947. I revious to that three lakh maunds of food stuffs were imported from India to meet the deficit to feed the entire population o of the State and now that 1/3rd part of the State which was mostly a deficit area, is in the possession of the enemy and 1/4th of the population is on the other side of the axamy Cease Fire Line the Government figures tell that the State is deficit of 42.52 lakhs maunds of food stuffs. It may also be mentioned here that the State has spent about 3 crores of rupees on the improvement of Irrigation of the State and about one crore on the improvement of Agriculture for increasing the production of the food stuffs. The various land reforms introduced so far to increase the food stuffs have also resulted in the increase of the import of food stuffs. The Government has given several different figures that it has spent for the improvement of the irrigation for production of the food stuffs. There figures are varying and are disterted. Questions in the Assembly regarding the authenticity of the figures are not replied. In the State the food situation inspite of all the expenditure that the Government has borne has not shown any better results.

### 4. LAWLESSNESS

There is complete lawlessness in the Jammu and Kashtir State Decoits go set free because they have the backing of the leaders of the National Conference-ruling party. Attack on the Government officials are not cared for and the accused belonging to the National Conference are not presecuted. In October, 1957, the Excise Party aided by the Police and the the Magistrate raided Thore Camp for detecting the

llicit traffic in illicit distillation. More than 1000 gallons of llicit liquor were recovered from this camp and the persons from whom his illicit liquor was recovered backed by S. Janak Singh, the leader the camp, who also happens to be a member of the Executive of the provincial National Conference attacked the raiding party and deprived the officers of their uniforms they were wearing and also some other articles. The case against these persons was registered under sections 395, 149, 332 of the R.P.C and the persons arrested were released by the timely help of the leaders of the National Conference to these assailants. They later induced the District Magistrate to write to the Government prosecutor to withdraw the case. Inspite of the fact that it had been sent by the Additional Magistrate to the Sub Judge Magistra Ist Class on the 18th November, 1957. The challan was presented to the said Magistrate on 28.4.1958 with the request that the case be allowed to be withdrawn and the order of the Sub-Judge Magistrate on the file reads as :-

28.4.58. Government Prosecutor Present.

Accused absent. Challan has been produced to day. It may be entered on the register. The Government prosecutor has submitted an application that in accordance with the order of the District agistrate he may be allowed to withdraw the case. There is no reason mentioned in this application for withdrawal of the case. Any how the permission is hereby given. The statement of the Government prosecutor is recorded. Since the sanction of the Government prosecutor is recorded. Since the sanction of the maximum for the withdrawal has been given the case be dismissed and consigned to the records and the accused be deemed to be discharged. Order announced

Attacks on the workers of the opposition parties is the order of the day. In the Kashmir Valley even M.L.A.'s are not spared. The Ex-Revenue

K.T.O

Minister, Syed Mir Qasim and ex-Speaker of the Legislative Assembly Mr. Ghulam Rasool Ranzu were attacked while they had gone to Sopore in connection with the Town Area Elections. Ghulam Rasool Kar was also man-handled and severely beaten. Even in Jammu province Mr. Rajinder Singh M.L.A who had gone to Poonch in connection with the organizations work was attacked and the meeting he was addressing, was tried to be dispersed with the help of the police and the Block Development Officers. Mr. Abdul Rehman a member of the working committee of the Praja parished was also man-handled by the Tehnil Secretary of the "ational Conference Mr. G.H. Goni. And Very recently in the month of December, 1958 when two workers of the Praja Parishad of Ramban Mr. Labhoo Ram Tehsil President of Praja Parishad and Charanjit Lal had been to illaga Enattal Tehsil Reasi they were attacked by the goondas who were being led by the patwari Abdul Majid and other Government officials of that area. One of the above mentioned two workers Mr. Charanjit Lal received very serious injuries. This is not a single instance in that area even previously Shri Beli Ram, Lumberdar who had dared to challenge the election of Mr. Mohammad Ayub Khan, Deputy Speaker Legislative Assembly who also happens to be the President of the Provincial National Conference has been implicated in several criminal cases like murder of persons who were later found to be alive. His house was stoned and he was kinder tortured to the maximum to withdraw the petition. Reports were lodged with the police and the Prime Minister also was informed.

### CORRUPTION

Corruption, nepotism and favouratism is ranpant in the administration. The Prime Minister himself corrupts the men by purchasing the workers of the political parties. Fersons belonging to the National Conference are recruited in the Government Service thereby inducing people to join the National Conference for getting service

in the Government and also other favours from it. Contracts and route permits are granted in favour of those persons who agree to work for the National Conference. Complaints against the Sub Judge Magistrate Ist Class Reasi Shri Tek Chand for his being corrupt and having taken bribes from the litigants has not been inquired into inspite of the public demand and representation.

#### PLANS

The first and the second five year plan in the Jammu and Ashmir State were formulated without proper planning. There have been bungling in the construction works and crores of rupees have been waste on these plans. For instance the Kishtwar Canal which was originally estimated to cost 6 lakhs to the State Ex. chequer has taken 28.68 lakhs of rupees and had to be given up because it was found impracticable to be dug. Money allotted to the Panchayats has been embezzled in every block. Even the C.I.D reports and Audit Reports confirm the above facts No action is being taken against the defaulters because they happen to be either the members of the National Conference or the favourits and relatives of the ruling clique. Industries working in the Maharaj's rule have since been closed and those started by the present regime like Jammu Wood Factory, Thana Woods Works and Ramnagar Woollen Weaving centre and many others have been closed. The conditions of remaining factories like Willow Factory, Drug Factory and Sericulture are also not satisfactory. Industrial loans have been given to the National Conference workers. These loans have also not been utilized for the purpose for which these were given to them nor these have been realized Private Weaving Handcrafts providing work to thousands of workers have also sufferred extinction due to non-availability of cotton yarn.

K.T.O

Elections to the Jammu and Mashmir Legislative Assembly were conducted in a very corrupt and high-handed manner. The Government officials were instructed by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad Prime Minister to reject the nomination papers of the Praja Parishad candidates. 20 election petitions regarding the elections in the Jammu Province were filed about two years ago. Out of these 20 only two have been disposed off uptil now and the single man election tribunal has been appointed for the entire State. Whereas in the rest of india there is one Electio Tribunal for each District. And in cases where the elections have been declared void bye-elections have been conducted and if there had been any corrupt practice in those elections the elections petitions have been f led with regard to such elections as well but in the State even though it is, as far as 22 August, 1958, that the Honourable High Court declared the election of Mr. G. A. Dev a National Conference candidate of the Doda constituency to be void. No be-election has been conducted knakkan so far and there is no possibility of the elections being conducted in this constituency for another period of four months.

Official interference and that of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad's personal interference in Town Area elections have been very much seen during these elections. The opposition candidates were kidnapped and were forced at the point of pistol to withdraw the contest. In Bishna the successful Praja Parishad candidate was declared unsuccessful and was later tortured and severely beaten. When he came out of the cluthces of the Police and was being brought to Jammu for medical inspection and for deposing xxxx true facts he was recarrested by the Police alongwith those who were bringing him to Jammu. These persons were also tortured.

Such are the woeful conditions in the Jammu and Rashmir State.

K.T.O

and it has created a strong belief in the people that as long as this Government and as long as the State enjoys the special status in the Indian Constitution and the present Government is in power and the jurisdiction of the election Commission of India and that acts of the Supreme Court in complete is not extended to the State of Jammu and ashmir there can be no free elections in this state as a result thereof no legal constitutional and orderly Government can be set up in the Jammu and ashmir State. This is not a hidden secret and as your honour have also declared it in your speech in the Parliament.

Basides the suppression of civil liberties and rugging of elections which is steadily destroying faith of the people in democratic remedies for the redress of their grievances, the ruling Junta is playing have with the administration by complications, aligning it with ruling party and making it an instrument for party propagands.

As a result all officials who do not like to subordinate their independence of judgement of the ruling party dictation are finding themselves in a very precarious position. Inefficient and corrupt juniors who are prepared to play second fiddle to the ruling party are being promoted to high posts without any regard to seniority and efficiency. Funds given for the execution of the 2nd Five 'ear Plan are being spent more to further party interests than for real improvement of the State. Fartisanship, provincialism and communalism and also inefficienty and corruption are rampant in all walks of administration.

All this has created general discontent amongst the people of the state. The blame for all the corruption and supression of liberties is being assigned to the government of India which, in the popular eye, is the power behind the present ruling Junta aturally this situation is being exploited by anti-india elements to the detriment of the wider interests of India. It has, therefore, become K.T.O.

imperative for the Government of India to look into the whole situation and take remedial measures without any further delay. Indian Government cannot take shelter behind the conveneint plea that internal affairs in the state are the responsibility of the State Government because the issue and interests involved in Kashmir ultimately effect the whole of India and not Kashmir alone.

We, therefore, appeal to you to take immediate steps on the lines given below to save the situation in the State from further deterioration.

- 1. Pending full application of the Constitution of India to the Jammu & Ashmir State after the deletion of section 370 in the Indian Constitution, immediate steps should be taken to bring the State Judiciary fully under the control of the Supreme Court and extend the jurisdiction of the Election Commissioner of India to the State so that all further elections in the State be conducted by it.
- 2. Since the State officials have lost all independence and integrity and have become demoralised senior staff for conducting elections should be deputed from India.
- 3. Elections to the local bodies so far held be scrapped and fresh elections ordered under the supervision of a high and impartial judicial officer.
- 4. People of the State be given the right to elect their representatives to the Lok Sabha directly and that elections must be conducted by the Election Commission of India.
- 5. The State officials promoted to I.A.S and I.P.S cadres be sent outside for gaining further experience and training and some experienced I.A.S and I.P.S officers holding independent views from other parts of the country be sent to the State to tone up the State administration.

K. T. O.

An all party planning advisory committee including experts in the industry etc. should be set up to advise and guide the State in respect of schemes to be taken up and money to be spent for the plan purposes.

Any failure to move quickly on the lines suggested above is certain to create further complications. People of the State are looking to the Government of India for the redress of their legitimate grievances and making the administration good and efficient. If they are dis-appointed they will have to turn to other remedies which may not be very palatable to the Government of India at this movement. It is why we carrestly request you not to allow the things to drift. Let us all endeavour to keep the wider interests of the motherland and his Government and unchal above party is interest, and do the thing is in right time.

Yours faithfully,

Dated amay the, Feb., 1959. ( PREM NATH DOCKA )
PRESIDENT
ALL JAMU & KALHETE PRAJA PARTCHAD
JAMEU TAVI.

Mr. Gopal Das set Sachar - The publicity Secretary of praja parishad had on oct. 1, 1962: CC-0. Nanaji Beshmuth Library, ELE Hannel Digitized by eGangotri

### CENTRAL OFFICE J & K TRAJA FARISHAD JAMMU

Demogracy Sabotaged in Kashmir !!!

By killing democracy in J & K how a handle is being provided by the State ruling men to the enemies to beat India, can be well gauged from the following:

National Conference first general elections were held in the Rtate in 1951. There were only two contesting parties - National Conference the party in power and Fraja Parishad - only opposing party. Forty six out of seventy nomination papers of the Praja Parsahad candidates were rejected summarily on flimsy grounds and those that were made and assurances were sought from the Govt. for fair and impartial poll in the remaining 14 constituencies; but having failed to get the same and for the circumstances created by the men in power, the Fraja Parishad was forced to boycott the election. The Assembly thus constituted was a packed house of underlings of the National Conference deaders.

Elections in 1957 with little modification. Besides using the claractics of rejection of nomination papers of the Opposition campdidates, the boxes were tampered with frequently. In spite of wall this the Fraja Parishad captured 5 sects and one went to the Harrijan Ma-nda-1.

these celections 20 election petitions were filed affecting 24 constituencies in the year 1957. A one man Election Tribunal was a-prointed to bear all these election petitions. The place for trial was fixed at Srinagar 200 to 300 Miles from the concerned constituencies. The proceedings of these were allowed to da-ngle on and continued till the 3rd Genl Elections.



The story of the 3rd General Elections is no less painful though these were held for the 1st time under the supervision of the Union Election Commission. A concerted effort was made to repeat the old tactics with great mischief and technique and thus minimise the importance of the Union Election Commission whose jurisdiction was extended to this State after a strenuous struggle of the Fraja Farishad. In spite of repeated requests the Polling was held in the month of February which was not at all suitable sea-son for hilly areas of Jammu Province. At most of the stations it was heavily snowing and raining as usual. The voters had not only to face the bad weather but they had also to travel on foot in these mountaneous areas from 10 to 15 miles. The extent of bogus polling in favour of ruling party candidates by the concerned officials can be well judged from the fact that even in the hilly areas at many polling stations polling has been shown 95 to 100 %. The overall average has been recorded 70 to 85 percent. In contrast we refer to polling in Himachal Pradesh, a hilly tract adjoining Doda District of the Jammu Province. In Himachal Polling was held in the month of May when the climatic conditions were very favoura-ble but the overall polling could not exceed 25 to 30 % while in Doda District it was shown above 75 %. This brings into light the extent of bogus polling.

A further glimpse into the democratic way of life can be gained from the following facts.

There are 3 municipalities in the whole State Srinarar - Jammu and Poonch. In Srinagar and Jammu cities the
Municipal councils were superseded about 4 years back and
Administrators were appointed and they were continuing
uptil now. In Poonch elections were held in 1939. About three
years ago, instead of holding the election, the Govt. nominated
all the 15 members of the Municipal council including the Chairman.

Similar are the conditions of the Town Area Committees.

There are 29 T.A. Committees in the State. Elections to all of them are overdue for long. In most cases committees were disbanded and administrators have been appointed for the Last several years. Nine committees that were controlled by CC-O. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

Preja Pa rishad were dismissed without any charge or proper enquiry. It is interesting to note that out of ten member committees of Udhampur Town, six members have resigned for for the last six years. Two members have left Udhampur. But the Committee with only two members is allowed to function because the Chairman had joined the National Conference.

The conditions in the Panchayats are no less worse where Govt. have retained powers to nominate five members in 11 members Panchayat - persons who are defeated in the elections are nominated as Panches and there are many cases in which the nominated persons have been installed as Sarpanches.

This all creates a bad name for India.

Publicity Secretary,
J&K Praja Parishad,

Da ted 1:10-1962

Scheme. The State officers taken in the I.A.S. (without adopting the proper procedure of selection) got their pays doubled but the wonder is that these officers are not being transferred from hore, though in the light of deteriorating law and order conditions in the State it was in the best interest of the State to get I.A.S. officers from outside to man state cadres like Dy Commissioners and Secretaries and depute its I.A.S. officers outside the State so they could acquire the experience of wider field and learn working of some of karrow the newly started activities. But by not transferring these officers the entire purpose of integration has been defeated.

Gopal dass Sachar )
Publicity secretary,
Fraja Parishad,
Jammu

Dated 1.10.1962

In order to get a wider support of the Indian masses for the people of Jammu, who were agitating not only for complete integeration of the State with Indian Union but also a share in State's political power, the R.S.S. element in the Praja Parishad succeeded in affiliating the party with Bhartiya Jana Sangh. The All J & K Praja Parishad than stated

Contd. . . 38

operating as de-facto Jana Sangh united in the State. 93 Pt.

Prem Nath Dogra then toured throughout India and attended the meetings of the Bhartiya Jana Sangh at the National level. The three slogans of Parishad - one president, one flag and one constitution for the whole of the country had raised the stature of Pt. P.N. Dogra at the national level, also.

After the resignation of Pt. Mouli Chander Sharma from Presidentship of Bhartiya Jana Sangh, who succeeded Dr S.P. Mukerjee, the choice fell on Pt. Prem Nath Dogra. Technically, it was not fessible for him without merging his party with the Thus R.S.S. element under the auspices of Prof. Jana Sangh. Balraj Madak who had been compaigning since long for the complete merger of Praja Parishad with Jana Sangh, finally succeeded in merging the former with the latter on February 20, 1964 in a party session held at Akhnoor (Jammu) and presided over by Sh. Din Dayal Upadhaya, the then General Secretary of the All India Jana Sangh. 95 Mr. Chhatru Ram Dogra, Shiv Ram Gupta alongwith a handful others had opposed this move of merger. simply because the party would not only loss its regional character, it Muslim membership, who dubbed Jana Sangh as a communal party, but a strong force protecting the interest and aspirations of the Jammu region. 96 They were of the view that with its merger with Jana Sangh the channel for redressal of grivances of the Muslims masses in Jammu against the aggressive trends of the National Conference Government, would be closed. Them would then look towards the communal, anti-India and secessionist outlest in the vellay. But the proposal was ultimately carried out with majority support. 98 action the Jana Sangh had its units in most of the Hindu

Contd...39

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Bal Raj Madhok,
Organising Secretary,
Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad
(C/o Faramount Press, Earlaganj, Delhi).

To

Shri G.S. Rajpai,
Secretary General,
External Affairs Ministry,
Government of India, NEW DELHI.

Dear Sir,

I beg to submit as 'aides memoir' the fist of the points that I made out during my talk with you on the 15.5.50 as also those which I could not touch due to shortage of time, regarding the view point of the Praja Parishad, the most crare, about the Kashmir problem.

- 1. The Praja Parishad would have liked the Government of India to not to risk a plebiacite in Kashmir this or any future time. But since the Government of India stands committed to it, if would be most impolitic and undemocratic to allow the predominantly Muslim population of Kashmir to decide the future of the Whatsoever by holding the plebicite taking the whole State as a unit. The choice of the people of Jammu and Latt to remain a part of India is clear and unit should be confined to Kashmi valley alone. If it must be held at all
- 2. Praja Parishad is as much opposed to the independence of the State as to its accession to Pakistan. It is therefore perturbed by the subtle moves of Sh. Abdullah and his communist supporters to secure independence for the entire do whatever they think proper with Kashmir valley. But nothing should be done to break the natural, historical, political, economic and cultural ties of the poople of Jammu (from Pathankot ind Panihal) and Ladakh with India.
- Care should be taken to keep Bhadarwah (Hindu majority) and Kishtwar (slight Muslim majority now due to immigration of Kashmiri Muslims), the two richest and strategically most important parts of Jammu with Jammu and Eharat. This is important because Sheir Abdullah's Government has been trying in a very tricts of Udhampur and thus descroy the cut them off from the Hindu majority districts of Udhampur and thus descroy the territorial link between Jammu and Ladakh. Population has swelled recently by Kashmiri Muslim immigrants from Kashmir valley from across the Panihal and other passes that link Jammu with Kashmir valley.
- 4. In deciding the future of the State or taking any other decisive step concerning it the representatives of Praja Parishad should also be consulted. The Government of India, I would like to assure you, can always depend upon Praja Parishad for anything for the good of India and the State.

I would like to post you with some more facts and therefore would request you to give sometime on some other day at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,

Dated. the 27th May 1950.

( Bal Raj Madhok )

He became its first general Secretary and Hari Wazir was its first President. Wazir was succeeded by Lala Rupchand Nanda. His successor was Pt. Prem Nath Dogra, who was born in Jammu in 1883, prematurely retired from State service, ex-member of the Praja Sabha - the first State Sat Sanghachalak. Legislature - Sarghachalak of the R.S.S. in the State from the time of its formation until it was banned in 1948<sup>22</sup> and continued to be its President until it merged with Jana Sangh.

Although the R.S.S. constituted the backbone of the party, yet prominent leaders representing different sections of society also in the expropriated landlords, who had lost their bigland estates without compensation and other communities of Jammu region who regarded the National Conference as anti-Dogra and anti-Maharaja. There were then two main sections in the party. One section serving the cause of nationalism consisted of Roop Lal Nanda, Shiv Ram, Chatru Ram Dogra, Hari Wazir, Shri Bachan Singh Panchi, Sheikh Abdul Rehman, Madan Lal, Hakikat Singh, Dhanwanter Singh etc. The other serving the cause of Hinduism were Pt. Prem Nath Dogra, Rishi Kumar Kaushal, Shri Bhagwat Swaroop, Th. Baldev Singh, Dr. O.P. Mengi, Milkhi Ram, Durga Dass Verma, Balraj Madhok, Dr Ved Parkash Gupta, Sham Lal Sharma etc. 24

The party believed in the ideology of Akand Bharat and supported a strong unitary state of India. It regarded that the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir

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and Governor of General of India a way back in October, 1947 was final, complete, legally valid and beyond question. The party, therefore, of the view that Kashmir in its entirety belonged to India and there was no question of a plebistite in the State and the only matter remained to be settled was the full and complete evacuation of pakistan from the area illegally occupied by her. While seeking security in the relaxation of the Maharaja as a constitutional head of the State, the party outrightly rejected the limited accession of the State with Indian dominion. party then outrightly rejected the adoption of Article 370 of the Constitutional of India, which conferred a special status on the State and granted permission to the State to have its own mambers of CG-e Nanaji peshroukh Libyary, BJP, Jammu. Di

The Working Committee of the All J & K Praja Parishad unanimously passed a resolution on March 10, 1951 praying the Govt. of India to delete Article 370 in the Constitution of India and requested the Government of Jammu and Kashmir to recommend its deletion. The Parishad leaders also demonstrated it by organising protests, hartals and public meetings that they were not at the back of this sinister move of separation of the State from Indian Union rather they openly opposed it.

Meanwhile Yuvraj Karan Singh, the Regent of Jammu and Kashmir State and the son of His Highness Hari Singh - the last Dogra Maharaja - issued a proclamation for the convening of the Constituent Gonstitute Assembly on April 30, 1951. The All J & K Praja Parishad, which had previously criticised the convening of Constituent Assembly to draft a separate constitution for the State, at its working Committee meeting on May 8, 1951 decided to contest the election and demanded representation in Delimitation Committee, which was consisted of Mr. Justice M.A. Shahmiri - a Judge of the J & K High Court - and four other members of the cranking prostant the Library Bir sain and Bignized by edanger on Department.

The party demanded the application of the Constitution of India on the State in its entirety. It, therefore, sponsored a compaign for abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution believing that the erosion of the Special Status to the State would eventually lead to the transfer of power from Srinagar to Delhi which would reduce the former's capacity to dominate over Jammu.

The All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad, thus, became not only the Principal opposition party of Jammu region, the local instrument of its protest but also a party to spearhead the integrationist move on Allai Desimukh Borak especially and District Desimukh Borak especially and Desimukh es

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Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was totally against the full application of the India Constitution on Jammu and Kashmir. In order to counter the All J & K Praja Parishad he declared

"If there is no special status for kashmir in Indian Constitution, how can we go to Muslims in Kashmir and

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Pt. P. N. Dughais is press conference at new selli on oct 6, 1951 extilain of The following statement was then is used to mee the press by Pt. P. N. Dogka, president of mee All JAIL phaja parishad at a phess Conference held in New Dellin on Saturday, oct 6, 1951:

Pres Conference held in New Bolls on Killies Seturday, Oct. 6:-121 7 h,

1951

. bu must have read a lot about the elections to the Conthat you have been given only one side of the picture. So, I would like to give you some facts about these elections and to leave it to you to judge for yourself in regard to the real situation in Jamu.

### THE PRAJA PARIOHAD

the people of James for the past so wany years, just as the "antional Conference" has been of the people of Kashmir, but over sine the present administration has been set up in the face, there has been a regular common of will set as in the there, there has been a regular compaign of vilification and harragment of the people of Jamus at was against this maltre
contract the people of Jamus as against this maltre
assurance that there would be no discrimination in treatment bet
teen the property of the two provinces of Jamus and Kasirda by the administration.

The Praje Parished is not a equation organization in any name of the term, which fact becomes clear from the fact that it has on its membership rolls hundreds of Buclims. Some of them have been addressing public meetings from the Praja Parished platform, but the government has adopted the tactics of dubbing in so Tuelte rembers of the Praja Parished as Pakistania, one, of the transfers a besting by the local officials, while another has been externed from the State and is today staying in India.

Ever since the partition of India, the Preja Perishad has unequivocally stood for unconditional accession of the January and Kashmir State to the Indian Union, while the Estimal Conference has even till teday not agreed to complete merger of the State to the Indian Union and wants defence, external affirs and communications alone to be controlled by the Central Covernment of India. Even in the present election, the Preja and Landard defends the application of the entire Indian Constitution to the January and Eachmir State Like all the other "B" and the States that have accorded to the Indian Union, while the Mindral Conference wents a separate constitution for the the Malianal Conference wents a separate constitution for the Rest and Recording to a restrict selection of the top of the Janu and Kaslmir State for reasons best known to itsolf.

### DR JA AR SHAD W LSUS HAY OF AL CONTRING.

From the above it is clear that there are fundar ental and basis di l'erence between the Rational Conference and the Praja aristad over the ciertion of the trate's accession to the Indian thich; while the Praje Parishad tands for ken unconditional to the India, the National Conference has recorvations in this regard and the conflicting statements and actions of the ionic little and conformed leaders during the last four years are to grave cusp cions in the mande of the people of the state.

The present elections to the constitutiont Accombly of the Samue English state are else being fought on the very issue that is the rea on the table lational Conference has been the citempts to provent the Frank Pershid free entermyly the factorial According

With his all in view, the government, while is anot for he Pational Conference, is adopting all ease, fair forl, to prevent real representatives of the ople from

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entering the constituent Assembly. I was a result of this policy that no opposition candidates dared to file thir noni-nation papers in any of the 43 out of the 455seasts for the Assembly in Machair Province and the two candidates who did deficate to file their nominations were compelled to withdray them. by unduo precure.

As regards Japan Province, this intimidation on the perpent of the Dational Conference -cum Government could not succe sed as the Parja Parchid is the trongect political organization of this province for so any yours past and the Mational Con-ference has not even existed, its activities having been confined ever since 1922 when it was borne as the Kashrir Muclim Conference to the Kashmir valley alone. So attemps are being ande according to a well laid plan to prevent the praje. Pershid from having any effective violee in the Constituent Andembly.

### TACTICS ADOPTED

The first thing the National Conference government did was to decid not to hold elections in the provinces of Kachmir and Jennu simultaniously. Every body was surprised to find that while the nominations were being filed in the Kashmir valley even the final voxters lists had not been made public for Ja mu province. It was after the unappeaded elections of the National conference (andidates had been announced in Kaskmir, that the dates for nominations in Jarra province were announced with the deleborate intentions of influencing the elections in Janu.

### · IRITEGULAR DELIMITATION

Another tactick adopted again t the Praja Baroliid that the Parishad was given to representation on the Dolimitation Cormittee although at first he Praja Parshid was a sured but later this was not done, with the result that the delimination of the constitutioncies as fixed by the delimitation constitute are altogother opposed to the principles of contiguity that its representatives would be accordated with the Committee compactness of the areasz as the believe of delimination committee with a view to benefit the party in power.

The following specie instances will be sufficient to prove the above contention of the Parja Prashad:-

1. While fixing the constitutionsies for the city of Jemu, Jemu Patwar, which is contiguous with Jemmu city, was split up and a major portion of it was taken to he Kelma Chak constitutuency in Ja in tehsil, while the remainder was attached to the mouthern constituency of Jamu city to which was also addeded the Rohu Petwar on the other side of the river Tawi. A protect meeting against this un-n tural delimination was held a a resolution was adopted and sent to the Government on optember 8th, 1951 but with no result.

2. Sari Patwer, across the river Mini, which is a natural; part of Basholl constituency was cut of from this constituency and was a tache to the Billawer Constituency, because this Patwar was taken to be in Payour of the Bational conference Candidates standing from the Illawar constituency. This divicion is quite un-natural and deliberately partial.

# NO CHIBRAL SEALS IN 3 CONSTITUENCIES

The thrid method adopted against Parja Parahid was that the ereas where Parchid was the strongest have been debared from sipulings sending any condidates other han newborses the sche-nuled castes, although the population of scheduled caste no bear there was comparatively very small. In INIMA India scheduled casts and tribes have been given seats in addition we general seats, but not the cast of general electorate, except CC-0. Nanaji,Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

un fromings tout is arbityday all the (. 15h.s.

in those arons where the unvire population has consisted or such count and tribes, but in Jamu the delimitation Committee has not apart three constituencies of Reasi Kahna Chak and Bigling, for the Harijans only. If instead of those constituencies reserved to three coats have been set apart for those Rarijans in addition to gravel souts, ther would have been no injustice to the general chestagate, which has thus been debarred from being represented in the Constituent Assembly, although has a jority of the population in all these areas.

The most glaring instance of the unfair delimination of the constitutioncies was the one in regard to Kistwar which has the largest population of Harijans as no representation has been given to Harijans there, the reason is simple. The Harijan condidate of the Praja Praghid in this area Mr. Jagat Rem Arya was sure to get elected while an overwholming majority. He was a momner of the Fraja Experiment Sabha or the Legislative Assembly of the state last time. The government first tried to win him over to the side of national conference. On his refusal he was arrested and sont to Jail. He was however ordered to be released by the High Court as a result of a habeas corpus application. The Government then banned his entry into his home district of Kishtwar, by interning him in Srinagar, when there were protects against this alround, The Delimitation Committee debarro. Kishtwar from returning a Harijan Candidate, thus making it impossible for the Praja Parshid candidate Mr. Jagat Rem Arya) from being elected to Constituent Assembly.

The praje Parshid protested against these injustices, bu to no effect.

### OUT OF THE WAY POLLING STATIONS

The fourth handicape put in the way of the Paraja Parshid coming out successful was to fix the polling stations at out.
of the way places, where the National Conference, Government resources alone could carry the voters, and not the central places.

#### 41 OUT OF 65 NOTINATIONS REJECTED

The fifth and the most atrocious attempt that was made against the praja Parshid was that no less than 41 out of the 65 nominations filed by the Praja Parshid for 27 of the 30 seats from the Jermu province were rejected on the most flimsy grounds, while not a single nomination paper of any Matienal Conference Candidate was rejected, although the Praja Parshid filed very serious objections against a number of them.

As the Praja Parshid had expected trouble in connection with the nominations, it had taken the procautions of filling the nominations of more than one candidate from 24 constituencies and in some places the number the number of the Prashad nominations was even 3 & 4 but determined as the returning of icers were not to let the praja parshid contest these seats, all the 2 or 3 or 4 nominations of the parshald candudate were rejected on one ground or the other. The details of the rejection of these nomination papers would therefore prove very interesting and deserve to be mentioned in some detail.

1. In the Billower constituency, four nominations were file for Fayan Singh Tara Chand, Thekur Dass and Rem Chand All the four nomination papers were rejected on the ground that the papers and recorders of these candadates were not able to produce state subject certificates, though no such condition mu was necessary according to the election rules.

An again t this, the nomination papers on the National Conference candidate named Ran Chandra Khajuria was accepted although his proposer and accorder too could not produce any state subject certificates and in addition his names was entered in the official electrals roll as Apar Chand and not as Ram Chandra

2. For the <u>Miranager</u> the constituiency, The Parshid filed three not inction papers for Baldev Singh, Rudra Pani, Ran Lut CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangoti

Jamela Prekash. The norunetions of the first three choices were rejected on the same basis of the State Subject Certificate and that of the last named candidate alone was accepted as the returning officer said he personally now the proposal and the scandder.

For the Baschali consituoncy, the Pra-prachid filled three neminations papers in the name of Texa Chand, Jagidish Sharma and Remokand. The nominations of the first two were rejected on the same ground of the Same Subject cortificate, but the nomination of Mr. Remchand cas rejected on the plea that Eco he was a Government servent , although he had brought with him his ranignation Letter duly accepted by his officer. This resignation was not considred sufficeont.

Z. As against this , the nominati n paper of the Hitional Conference candidate, Mahant Ham, was accopted as valid, although he had not attatched with his nomination the forms of declaration apecifying his election agent, the filling of which was complisory for all candidates.

4. For the Kathua consituency, the Parishad had not up no loss than five candidates named Chagar Singh Suridadra Nath, Prithvi Singh, Ronjit Singh and Vidya Prokosh, The nominations of the first two were rejecteden the same plea of State Subject Cortificate. The nominations of Prithvi Singh and Hanjit Singh were rejected on the ground that they had been arrested in connection with the political movement in James. The nomination of the fifth candidate was alone accepted as no fault could be found with his nomination paper.

As against this , the nomination paper of the Watingl Conference candidate, Moj. Piyer Singh, was held valid, although he had not attatched with the necessary declaration as required

by the rules.

5. For the Rumager consituency, three nomination papers were filled by the Praja Parashid for Hans Raj, Amrit Sagary and

The nomination paper of Honeraj was rejected on the pleak that he was not sure of his serial number on the official electoral roll. According to the original electoral roll his Not appeared to be 490, but in the revised list it was 491. As a precaution, he filled two separate nomination papers, one giving the number as 490 and the other 491, but both were rejected on the ground that the candidate was not sure of his serial Musper.

The nomination paper of Amrit Sugar was rejected on the please that he mot able to produce a certified copy of his entry in the electoral roll, although he carried an official copy

of the roll which contained his name.

The nomination paper of Shiv Chran was rejected on the plea that the name entered in the electoral roll was L.SONG Shiva Charan, while the nomination paper morely stated Shiva Charna even though the father's name and all other particulars tallied fully.

As against this , the nomination paper of the National Conference candidate, L. Hans Roj, was hold as valid, although his

name of ontored as latthem Raj.

In addition, the nomination paper of Raghuneth Singh and Thanventur Singh from the Samba Consituency, of Shiv Lal from R.S. Pura and Shem Lel from Akimoor and other were rejected on the basis of elerical mistakes or minor printing errors. The nomination paper of Pharem Paul, a Praja Parishad candidate, was first accepted for the N.S. Pura consiturncy but he was latter beaten and made to withdraw it.

### FAVOUR TOWARDS THE HATTCHAL CONFERENCE CAMDIDATES

Compared to those impediments put in the way of the Praja Parished cendidates, the way the Matienel Conference candidates were favoured is illustrated by the following:-K.T.O

name of Marinati Ram Doi, who had been cet up by the onference for the Jamu clay polithorn consistence, appeared isotoral roll as Mrs. Brigadier Ranjindra Singh and not as atili her nomination paper was accepted. The neme of the Hational Conference condidates from Samba with the outries in the electoral roll- Even then his nomination was The father's name of Challa Singh, the National Conference candidate from the Chhamb consituency, according to the State-subject certificate is Barita, but in the electoral roll it was entered as

Briti Singh. In addition, he is a Jat in the State-subject certificate, but is entered as a sild in the electoral roll. Still,

Although the election rules laid down that the objections or all nemination papers should be decided on one and the seme day, in Hathua consituency, they were hold over for the second day on the plea that both the presiding officers had fallon ill simultanously, with a view to help the Mational Conference candidates.

How for the elections in Jamu can be fair and free can easily be made out from these.

# OFFICIAL INTERPREDICE

In addition to this , the entire adminstrative machinery of propaganda of the most malicious type against the Praja Parished, of the direct supervision of the Dy. Prime Minister of the State,

who has been touring the Jamu province, threatening and dipered intimidating the people against supprting the Parishad.

The Deputy Commissioner of Kethus, accompanied by the Minister, she divided Lal Degra has been touring and ad ressing the public cancelled the arms licences of many people in the border areas who has no support the national conference candidates and gave great licences to these who expects the Preja-parished.

Licences to these who opposed the Praja-parished.

In the same way, the Tehsilder, and the Naib-tehsilder of National Conference form against the Praja-parished.

The above are some of handicaps which make it impossible for the Praja-parished.

the Praja-perichad to have a fair deal in those elections.

# MR. COPALSWALL ATVALGAR IDELPLUS

I can to reet the Minister of States, Mr. N. Copaleswani Ayyonger, to point out to him all these irregularaties in the hope that he would be able to secure a four deal for the Praja Perished in Jerum, but i regrotte to find that beyond come come vegue assurances, he has not been able to assure me what the Praja Parished could expect justice and fair play in these elections.

# DEPARTIALITY HECESSARY

If the Government of India and the State Government want the formation of a truly representative constituent assemble for the Jermu and Kashmir State, the least they must do is:-

1. To hold an independent, Judicial enquiry to the rejection of t the nomination paper of the Praja-perished condifictes, thereby enabling the Praja-priched to contest in all the 27 consituencies from where it had originally set up its candidates.

To provent Government corvants from working for candidates of ant narty in the cate.

A state issued by Pt. P. N. Dogka just after the pieces conferede held at Delhi on oct 6,1951 The following statement usued pt. p. N. Dogen just after the press conference? gdated shoet. 1957 CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

In my statement dates 6th Oct. 1951 at a Press Conference in New Delhi I briefly explain. various tacticsadopted by the N.C. Car-Govt. in preventing real representatives of the peple from entering the Constituent Assembly. To ensure free and fair elections I suggested to hold an independent judicial enquiry into the rejection of nominations papers and to prevent Govt. servants from influencing the voters and helping the candidates of any porty. But the State Govt. and the Govt. of India paid no heed to it. W.C. of the P.P. unanimously endorsed my suggestions which were further ratified by the prepresentatives from all parts of Jammu Province gathered together in Jammu to decide future course of action after our withdrawal from the Elections as a protest age: against partial and unfair practices. The Constituent Assembly is the nominee of he N.C. and-har-ne-representative-ekerocter. No-confidence Resolutions were passed by all the Constituencies of the Jarmu Province against the presentative character of these nominated members and the Assembly which is to function as the sovereign democractic body. I would have cared a little to say a word about the procedure adopted by such an Assembly for election petitions vide J&K Goyt. Gezette dt. 15th Oct. 1951.

But before being blamed for not availing of the chance of proving farcical nature of the Assembly electrons though election petitions. I consider it proper to make it public, that this proceedure was another fraud to dupe people as no justice could be expected the from such a bondy which itself is responsible for all injustices and partialities.

In old JEK Praja S bha election rules of 1942, rules for the final decision of doub's and idequates as to the validity of an election are given under section 117%, the court holding such an enquiry is defined as the high court of judicateure or any other tribunal specially empowered or appointed by the Government. Under the Govt. of India Corrupt Practices & Election, Petitions against any returned candidate are to be presented before the Governor who is to appoint commissions for the trial of petitions consisting of

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those persons who are or have been or are eligible to be appointed judges of the High Court & shall appoint one of them to be the President. Thus for hearing election petitions the appointment of Independent tribunals or compissions consisting of Judicial luminaries is made by the Govt. and not by the Assembly. But in our State the procedure adopted by this manipulated so-called sovereign democratic Assembly is a novel one, suited to gain its own ends. The Resolution in question published in the Gazette of Nov. 15, 1951, which came to be distributed after the 20th Nov. 1951 e.e. 20 days back, leaving only ten days for the urban constitutence is and practically no time for the rural constituencies to file petitions, which is another fraud. The period of submitting election expenses account on the other was extended because illiterate members failed to do it within the prescribed period.

character and having no confidence of the people of the Jammu Province has been given vide arbitrary powers under sub para even-of appointing tribunal and even dismissing the petitions.

Because of this nevel procedure and concentration of powers in one person no fair deal was possible from such a body and as such it was useless to approach it for justice, which was sure to be denied, as it had been denied by wholesale rejection of nomination of the procedure o

Chounath

- To hold an independent, judicial inquiry into the rejection of the nomination papers of the Praja Parishad candidates in all the 27 constituencies from where it had originally put up its candidates;
- In appointer some Supreme Court Judges to conduct the elections in Jammu, to assure project perfect impartiality; and
- iii) To prevent Government servants from working for candidates of any party in the State.

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The Government charged that the demonstration (by) was organised and inspired by the All Jak (by) praja parishad. This led the asket of pt. Prem Nath Dogra and other parishad leaders.

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The General Secretary of All J & K Praja Parishad in a letter to State Election Commission dated December 5, 1951 made the similar complaints. The party's working Committee met on September, 1951 in Jammu and adopted a resolution, giving an ultimatum to the Government to set right the deliberate rejections of Party's candidates uptil September 27, 1951 moon, failing which it might go to the extent of poycotting the elections. No party ultimately in a telegram to Prime winister of India on October 12, 1951 poycotted the election under protest. The constituent Assembly, therefore, consisting of 75 National Conference mominees as its members.

weanwhile a fewerex Pro-parishad students staged a demonstration and registered a protest against the hosting the National Conferences flag in a function held in G.G.M. Science College on January Nata Destruction below the Library Court; Jahing Digitize Out Caning of some

This Yed the arrest of Pt. Prem Nath Dogra and other parishad leaders. The Head Jama and Ladakh Kushak Bakula said .... "kashmir valley might in case of a U.N. plebiscite, choose to opt for Pakistan. In that case... there can be no question of Ladakh being dragged into Pakistan .... Ladakh... would sooner join up with Tibet."38 suggested .... the break up of the present territories of the State of Jammu and Kashmir into Kashmir valley, Jammu and Ladakhwith the first continuing its present status and the latter two acceeding according to Bharat as directly and fully as any other constituent of our federation seems the only way out of the perplexities of

On the other hand Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg, the then Chairman, of the Basic Principles Committee declared in the Mashmir Consembly on March 24, 1952 that the State of Jammu and

the people of Jammu and Ladakh.

Cont d ... 15

Kashmir would be an autonomous Republic within the Indian Union, with a separate president, Nation Assembly, Judiciary, Regional autonomy and a separate citizenship. 40 Beg's statement was deeply resented not only in Jammu and Ladakh but throughout India and it created serious apprehension about the credibility of the National Conference leadership. Mr. Durga Das Verma, the then General Secretary of the Praja Parishad said, "We have decided to pool all resources to fight against the dangerous designs of the party in power which wants to make the State a sovereign Republic.

CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

Page-15 just attle XI. Sogri Sansthas Reaction about M.A Beg State and in Remark List M. A Deg Statement The following is The seaction of Dogs a Sanstha against MR B.A. Beg statement of March 24,1952: cf the pogra Pahari people of Jammu. It has been working for the last nine years for the cultural and Social advancement of our people. It is a patriotic body. It was the first to welcome the rise of popular democracy in the State in 1947 and work adtively for the spread of National Conference Movement in Jammu Province, because we believe that the consolidation of patriotic elements in the State would lend strength and stability to the forces of nationalism in India (A copy of the appeal made to the people by the Organisation at that time is attached for your perusal). As such we alone can reflect the true aspirations of our people, their tone and temper as we alone have living contacts with them.

ordinarily, we keep away from politics but when politics begins to have a vital bearings upon our future as a people, silence does not retain its attributed golden qualities.

The recent announcement of Hon'ble Mirza Mohd Afzal Beg the Hon'ble Revenue Minister of the State in the Constituent Assembly that the Kashmir would be fully autonomous republic within India has reised some basic issues which shall have far reaching effect on our people and their culture. It is in the belief that the representation of the real feelings and sentiments of the people about these would be of some help to you in understanding the nature of the problem and in finding a basis for minimum working agreement, that we have taken liberty of addressing these few lines to you.

ACCESSION AND RELATIONS WITH INDIA:-

The State's relations with India are governed by the terms of the Instrument of Accession and subsequent stipulations which secure for the State a greater degree of separation than the other acceding States. An acceding state can stipulate for a greater measure of

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between Jammu and Kashmir about the degree and extent of autonomy secured. The degree of integration and separation can be varied by varying the number of subjects on the state list, but accession to India does not establish the State to repudiate the basic concepts of the Indian Constitution.

Most people in Jammu would like to join India as other States have joined. There is nothing communal about it. This desire is natural as complete integration with India brings some immediate economic benefits and we stand in need of immediate economic relief. But the people of Jammu will always be prepared to accommodate the other point of view and they will agree to the State retaining a larger number of subjects on the State list as a compromise. But the following basic issues admit of no compromise and the Government of India should take, therefore due note of them. What weever, degree of State's internal autonomy we shall not subscribe to a constitution which does not provide for:-

- a) Integration of State's territory with India and hence abolition of Custom or any other condon.
- b) The powers of the Union President as the supreme head of the entire territories of India including the State.
- c) Jurisdiction of the Union supreme Court as the guardian of the law and constitution.
- d) The fundamental rights granted by the Indian Constitution Ruling House:-

not so simple. We do not oppose the dissolution of the ruling dynasty if this can facilitate the accession of the entire State to India. But the dissolution of the head dissolves the existing political unity of the various national areas. The State is in the main composed of four distinct geographical regions which had different status before they were brought together into one political unit.

1. Jammu National area, between Banihal and Ravi was a principality held by Raja Gulabsingh Ji.



- 2. Ladakh was a part of Tibet but was conquerred by Raja Gulab singh in 1842..
- 3. Kashmir and the Northern areas were secured through treatry of Amritsar in 1846.
- 4. Poonch was a Jagir of Raja Dhian singh, Raja Gulabsingh's younger brother.

With the dissolution of the ruling house the sovereighty reverts to these national areas and new unity can only be forged if the independent status of the regions is recognised and accepted. If the State is to function within Indian Constitution the removal of the ruling Prince places following constitutional alternatives before the State Government.

- a) It can advise the President that he may after consulting the wishes of the people merges it with adjoining State or States.
- b) It can inform the President that the state may now be admitted as Part A State.

People in Jammu would not strive for the disintegration of the State as a Unit. The State has come to them as a heritage from their illustrious forefathers. They are prepared to accept the (b) alternative in spite of the fact that merger with Himmachal would culturally and linguistically be more natural.

#### BOUNDRIES OF THE VARIOUS REGIONS: -

This is another very important question. It is reported that the areas between Pirpanchal and the Patni Top are being integrated with Kashmir and Rajouri and Poonch is being declared as a separate autonomous region. The creation of these regions has to be viewed from the larger interests of the security of the northern frontiers of India. We met Professor Shibban Lel Sexana some two years back and supplied him with a written note of the subject warning him that sooner or later Kashmir would ddclare itself to be an autonomous republic and would try to grab as much of territories as it can. Unfortunately, we have not the note with us. But the truth of the Statement can be ascertained by referring to Professor Shibban Lal who may still have have the note with him. The people of Jammu will not submit to the

partition of their areas and shall whatever their political belief or party alignment stake their all for the integrity of the areas between the Pirpanchal and the Ravi. The integrity of these areas is essential from India's point of view as well. This area of the Middle mountains is of great strategic importance. The Kishtwar Tehsil is the biggest and of the greatest economic and geographic significance. The great Himmalayan Zanskar range separates it in the east from Sarru and Zanskar illaga of Ladakh and Pirpanchal to the west separates both Ramban and Kishtwar from the Kashmir Valley. The south east is bounded by Pangikulu Lahol. Thus Kishtwar occupies a very important strategic position in the geography of the regions lying north of Himmachal Pardesh commanding routes into the valley, Ladakh, Pangi Lahol and plains of the State. If this region is taken away from Jammu the security of Jammu, Himmachal and Pangi Lahol will be seriously affected. Moreover, we feel that the demarcation of the boundaries as reported in the Press divides the territories of the State into Muslim and non-muslim areas which amounts to directly playing into the hands of Pakistan. These areas are econominally, culturally and geographically part of Jammu Province and on this there cannot be any compromise.

But in case India is unable to exert pressure for integration on account of any previous commitment we hope and believe that Govt. of India will help us in securing our just place in the arrangements contemplated. There is acute discontentment among the people in Jammu and a satisfactory solution of the issues raised will relieve discontent to a great extent. In case Kashmir choses to be an autonomous unit we submit an alternative arrangement which can meet the aspiration of the people of this place to a large extent. (copy enclosed). In case aspirations of the people of this place are not recognised and accommodated there is a great danger of the situation deteriorating. We feel it our duty to inform the Govt. of India through you of the facts of the situation.

# DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE GURU NANAK DEV UNIVERSITY, AMRITSAR.

The following is the statement usued by Stori Durga Doess Verma - The Grener al Secretary. The All J 4/c Phaja parishedd When Mr. M.A. Beg annoused in the Jak Constituent Assembly west Take State would be an autonomous Refunda nanaji wekitillikh kibrary, Birvahirakongitiza byldangoti (5.4 /

The following is the full text of the Statement i sued by Shri M. S. Dars Verme, General Secretary, All Janua ... Karhmir Praja Parishad M. 23.3.52.

My attention has been drawn to the recent statement of Shri Nirza Nohd Afral Beg in the Kashrir Con embly that "State of Janua" & Kashrir would be an autonomous Republic within the Indian Union and that the State would have its President as also its own National Assembly" etc., etc., While highly disappointing to the elements desirious of speedy integration of the State with Bharat, it has not in the least caused any surprise to the Parishad circle at large. Whereas it confirms our oft repeated doubts regarding this sinster move towards independence of the present rulers of the State; it must serve as an eye opener to the people of Ekanat the Indian Republic.

Shri Sheikh Abdullah's and his lieutnants' these ill advised uttarances are a tirely pointer to prove what is being manuplated behind the screen. The present declaration of Shri Beg to the above effect is only a final release of all that the Kashair Pational Conference leaders by virtue of being the unquestionable rasters of the State at present, have been contemplating to aintain the Independent status of the State expressed so often by Shri Abdullah himself, though hasitantly and diplomatically.

Evidently this goes against Indias' interests, its integrity, and solidarity. This specially priviledged and extraordibary position of rulers of the State, is sure to tempt others to develop the same separatism and independent tendency. The recent statement of His Holineas Shri Kashyp-Bagokla, the head Lama of Ladakh, bears testimony to this apprehension. Every patriotic Indian will be purturbed to note these political drama being staged in the State, at a time, when the internal conditions definitely ill afford encouragement of such unfortunate tendencies among the different cultural zones of the State. Because of these impolitic declarations of the boses of the party-in-power, I see no means to checkmate this fru treted psychology, which if allowed to develop shall ultimately bring disaster for the whole State.

Further what is of more importance in that it shall besides .

leading to social disintegration, make us perpetual political slaves to

this one party dictatorship and shall withhold our economic emancipation

The people rightly feel that their ultimate salvation lies in the application of Indian Constitution, as at present there exists no liberty of press and platform, and mass detentions simply of political

indiciary merely serves a routine constituent of State-hiarchy and is ander complete control of the all-powerful executive. Thus the proposed autonomous Republican set-up within Indian Union, shall further go on crushing the poverty stricken people of the State under the heavy toll of Customs duty.

In view of all these factors Parishad's stand of complete and unconditional accession of the State with India and the removal of discrimnatory Section 370A from the Indian Constitution represents the inner feeling of the entire State. We are of the opinion that it shall not only make the people of the State one with India, but shall also provide them with opportunities for progress on equal footing with their Indian brothern. The fact that this very pro-Indian stand of the Parishad has been responsible for the disrepute it has accomulated from the interested elements within and without the State, represents an unprecedented historical irony. All the insinuations, insults and humiliations are being suffered by it, as it stands by India, for India and with India.

Now when Shri Beg has laid true cards before the public eye, we hope it shall help the Indian masses to read the true implications and complications of issue and thus afford them an opportunity to rise to the occasion.

As stated often, Praja Parishad is most depandable unit in the State. It is prepared to shed its last drop of blood to achieve its objective of application of Indian Constitution on the State, which is knowingly obscure to Shri Abdullah. The charges of communalism, sectorial knowingly obscure to Shri Abdullah. The charges of communalism, sectorial helical by the fact that nism, provincialism etc., are themselves helical by the fact that the Parishad stands for the most secular Constitution of India. It is too the Parishad stands for the most secular Constitution of India. It is too simple to view any further clarification or comment.

The hostile attitude specially of the English Press of Bharat towards Praja Parishad is unfortunate in as much as it is unconsidually towards Praja Parishad is unfortunate in as much as it is unconsidually cutting at the very roots of Indian unity and solidarity and of oneness of policies and programmes. The cold welcome with which the Parishad is of policies and programmes. The cold welcome with which the Parishad is received or is made to be received would rather jeopardise Indian interest received, which Parishad endeavours to safeguard not caring even for its whenever extinction.

I hope that the said statement by the HonIble Revenue Minister in the State Constituent Assembly would serve its useful purpose by



by giving a strong jerk to those who are corplascent about the Kashmir's affairs and let them think seriously about this emerging headache to the Indian Republic.

Jai Bharat

Sd/- DURGA DASS VERMA.

GENERAL SECRETARY,
ALL JACTU & KASHTIR PRAJA PARISHAD
JACTU.

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favour of publication.

OMETCE SECRETARY,
ALL JAPEU AND KASHUIR PRAJA PARISHAD.
JAPMU.

Mr. N.G. Ayyanger, the then Minister of States of India, who visited Jammu in April 1952 to study the situation and to cool passions, advised the framer of the State Constitution to be practical and not led by shibboleths and theocratic ideas and rather display a measure of political wisdom. 42 At his this instance the Parishad leaders were released. As a result the National Conference leadership in general and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah in partoio Want Desemble Lexing Stue Damanu. Segnite Tayle Gangorie rvention.

the honour to represent, to excercise necessary restraint in bringing to public light all the ormissions and commissions of the Government for the healty function of the Democratic set up of the State for the last so many years of our existence, lest exposers at this stage of our country's history may not strengthen the hand of our common enemy, it still remains an unsolved problem with me, as to what necessiated my arrest and the reign of terror thereafter.

protest and incidents thereafter, to the effect that the said students protest and incidents thereafter, to the effect that the said students movement was going on cuite independent of our guidance and patronage have fully been substantiated, I still stand by my February 8th statement, demanding the institution of an independent enquiry commission to prove the validity of the Governments action, which the latter is justifying so much even now.

political detentions without trials have been carried out simply on political differences. Quite astonishingly I find not even a single instance when the present Government has cared to try a political denue in an open court of law and furnish him with every legitimate facility that the law entitles him for his defence. Such an attitude on the part of the present Government besides being undemocratic is quite unbecoming for the much propagated popular character of the present regime. The natural result of all this is that a sense of despair and insecurity prevails throughout.

The present crematic" closure of the chapter" lends further belief that all the political opposition shall not be marked spaced in the present set up of the State and shall therefore be an occasional prey for the brunera becureratic irresponsibility and Police lock ups. In view of the claim that the party in power takes fancy to reserve for itself, it was expected that it shall catablish decent political precedents in dealing with opposition.

But it is unpleasant to remark that our experience of the last 5 years has fully disappointed us in our expectations. Therefore the political capital that the Pakistan Government takes out from the mass risings, directed for aconomic betterment and political amsolatration is the result of sheer lack of realism and civilized diplomacy of the rulers of the State. I which even now the Government would realise its duty and acknowledge boldly the errors it is guilty of committing those years of its misuse of power, and

high Choreby worty political institutions to be followed by others.

Now with our release, when the eclipsed political norm of the diate is sensible clear before no, and all out stock-taking is not easy in order to fortulate our future policy.

It is poinful to note that the Government has muched through the most undersocratic nothed of nominating the States' representatives to the Indian Parliament, in quite disregard of our increasent element for their election, the practice which was followed in other States of India. Fot only this the leaders of the party in power had the courage the express unreservedly and in man unquivered terms, their mind in the future relative relation ship of the State with India. The said desire to establish an autonomous Republic within initial India must have disillusioned the common tem-payer of India, whose sucked blood is continuously being injected into the reins of the present State Secretriate by the Indian exchequer, and when has so far recorrecated our occasional jerks to rise and resist this sincte move, with indifference, but it confirms by fears expressed so often throughness and platform.

Deform my careat I was in correspondence with the Fre ident of India on the subject of getting elected the Statest representatives to the Indian Perliament, but what did I know that the party in power is out to play with popular continent and gage the voice for such an election. The doubt that the Severment did not intend to throw the choice for the people verdict is contined and needs therefore no proof.

From Regio declaration, which Shaikh Sahib has fully endorsed, that the Constitutional relationship of the State with India, shallb be that of a "Republic within Republic" raises a pertinent question, viz a viz purposed sonding our representatives to the Indian Parliament?

We are Takistanias because we element for Indian Constitution, we are reactionaries, because we demand election of the representatives for the Indian Parliament and we represent discussed fuedal elements, because we court erre to for complete and unconditional accession of the State with Figuret, then what is the wisdom of knowing any relationship with India. I demonstry pray that reason may provail upon the National Conference leads to results the areat potential benief that the unconditional accession and our complete integration with India shall being in its wake for us. In the contrary the proposed appublican set up shall lead to the Balkaisation of India and shall in the long run weaken the States position both economically and politically.

The natuation demands a revision of policy and all out withdrawal from the original stand for the mutual benifit of India and the State.

contes and patriots of Marrit to make up and proper for this great threat to the integrity of our reshertand, downed emphatically of the Government to restore all the civil liberties and ead once for all the existing police harrancest. The continued detention of one of my colleague's fari Makhan-Lal is causing great concern to all of up and I wigh him to be released invedicioly.

In the end I amport that not only the sympathics of India, of but also all the we ources at its disposal to help us in realisation of our good which is really India's aim.

Jul Magrat,

Dated 8,4,1052.

(PREM MAIN DOMA)
PRESTINATA
ATT. JAPOU & KASISITA PRAJA PARISHAD.
JADOU.



On the 8th of February 1952 the students of Jamma took out a procession in sympathy with their comrades who had been on hunger strike since the 29th of January to mark their protest against the heavy fines imposed contained their leaders for raising objection to the hoisting of the party flag of National Conference along with the National Tri-colour on the occasion of a Physical Display in the college on the 15th of January. The procession which was proceeding towards the Secretariat to place the Students case before the Cabinet was five times lathicharged and thrice fired upon by the State police before it dispersed.

This incident was followed by a 72 hours Curfew in Jammu city which was literally handed over to the army. The press note issued by the Jammu & Kashmir Government after that incident charged the Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad, with a design "to subvert authority and bring into existence chaotic condition in the State." This was followed by mass arrests of Praja Parishad leaders and workers, both male and female who have all been detained without trial. Jammu & Kashmir Government has since been persistently decrying, the Praja Parishad as having instigated the students.

The Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishal is the only political party in opposition to the National Conference the party in power, in the state. It wants the Jammu & Kashmir State to be fully integrated with India like other acceding States, demands the application of the Indian Constitution to the State in its entirety as against the conditional and limited accession for which the National Conference stands at present.

The Praja Parishad, as will be clear from the perusal of statement of our President, Pt. Prem Nath Dogra and the resolution of Praja Parishad working Committee of 25th February 1952 given in the succeeding pages, had nothing to do with the students movement. The Kashmir Government has wilfully misrepresented the whole situation to implicate Praja Parishad in it with a view to suppress it. This is why the Parishad demands an simpartial Commission consisting of High Court Judges

from India to go into the whole matter. The Jammu & Kashmir Government if it has any genuine proof against-the Praja Parishad must not hesitate in acceping this most democratic and rational demand of the Parishad which has been supported by the press and public opinion of the rest of India as well.

Institution of such an Enquiry Commission will in no way infringe the rights of the State Government. Such Commissions were appointed on more than one occasions by the previous autocratic regime of the Maharaja. The present democratic regime of Sheikh Abdulla, therefore should not feel shy of instituting such an Enquiry.

The Praja Parishad is Conscious of the delicate and difficult situation in Jammu & Kashmir State. It has been its endeavour, therefore, to voice the feeling of the people it represents in most peaceful and constitutional manner. But unfortunately the men in power do not want it to exist at all. That explains enforcement of Section 50 of Defence Rules of a war time measure, which has cempletely curbed the civil liberties of the people. Such a thing can in no way help in restoring the conditions of peace, harmony, goodwill between the Government and the people so badly needed at the present

An open Enquiry into the present incidents and its back ground will enable the true facts of the situation to come to light and will be helpful in removing much of the misunderstanding about the Parishad which has been caused by its systemic misrepressention for some time past. The Praja Parishad therefore hopes that the people of India including the Jammu & Kashmir State will appreciate the Parishad's demand for an independent Commission to Enquire into the Jammu incident.

Full Text of the Statement issued by Pt. Prem Nath ji Dogra, President Praja Parishad, Jammu on 8-2-52

Praja Parishad circles are shocked to read the Government Press note dated 82.52 in the last para of which the Government has charged that the demonstrations by the students of the college and schools, both boys and girls are organised and inspired by the Praja Parished organisation which wants openly to subvert authority and bring into existence chaotic condition in/

This is a mere travesty of facts and is intended to; bring into disrepute the only opposition party in the State The true facts are that the Parishad has all along extended fullest co-operation to the Government and has never done anything subversive to, the authority. The Praja Parishad is out and out for bringing in harmonious and peaceful conditions in the State and welding together all dissident elements. Its pro-India stand is the only cause of the cold war that is being waged against it by the party in power. Inspite of so many provocative speeches and statements issued by the Government the Parishad never deviated from its peaceful path.

I want to make it known to the public and Government that my organisation has no hand in the students movement and it kept aloof all the time. The Parishad with all the emphasis at its command demands that an independent Commission may be appointed to enquire into the false and unfounded accusations levelled against it. To prove the bonafides of the Government against the Jammu people, the recent utterances of the Hon'ble Deputy Prime Minister before the respectable citizens of Jammu on the 7th Feb. 1952 should serve as a pointer. Therein he openly threatened the Jammu people that he would destroy the country lockstock and barrel and make it over to Pakistan.

Dated Jammu the, Sd. Prem Nath Dogra, · President 8th Feb. 1952 All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad

#### Resolution passed by Working Committee of Praja Parishad, on 25-2-52. at Pathankot

The Jammu and Kashmir Praja Parishad during the past four years of its existence as the only party in opposition in the State has successfully worked for creating political awakening in the people particularly those living in Jammu Province who are comparatively backward because no political party had worked among them before the Praja Parishad. It stands for a progressive economic programme, a broad and non-sectarian social out look and close integration of the whole of the State with India like all other acceding States. It wants full application of the Constitution of India to the State and is opposed to the semi-independent state for which the party in power has been working. .

This patriotic and pro-India stand of the Parishad has made it suspect in the eyes of the party in power. It has been trying to suppress Praja Parishad in different ways. The leaders of the Parishad were arrested, detained without trial early in 1949 and were not released until the Praja Parishad launched a mass Satyagraha movement. The Praja Parishad was forced to boycott the elections to the Constituent Assembly by rejecting 44 out of ;9 nomination papers filed by Praja Parished nominees on most flimsy grounds. To keep the voice of Praja Parishad out of the Indian Parliament it plans to nominate the State representative to the Indian Parliment instead of holding an election for the purpose. The Praja Parishad has been corresponding with the government of India on the question of election of State representatives to the parliament. It was as it should, educating the public opinion in the state as well in favour of election of the State representatives for the Parliment instead of nomination. All this was being done by the Parishad in the most peaceful and constitutional manner.

The Praja Parishad had nothing to do what so ever with the present happenings in Jammu, which began on the 15th of January when the students of the local Govt. College protested against the hoisting of the party flag of the National Conference along with the National Tri-colour. Its leaders and workers scruplously kept themselves aloof. As citizens some of the leaders of the Praja Parishad did lend their helping hand to the authorities to end the student's agitation. They even succeeded in envolving an agreed compromise formula which was approved by the Deputy Commissioner of Jammu and other authorities on the 6th February. But Bakhashi Gulam Mohammed the Deputy Prime Minister who returned to Jammu the same day torpedoed the efforts of citizens and rejected the Compromise formula evolved by them. That created a constirnation among the students and parents and relatives of the hunger-striking students and resulted in the demonstration of 8th February which was crudely mishand led by the authorities.

The way the Jammu & Kashmir Government has exploited the situation to suppress the Praja Parishad is no secret now. It has let loose a reign of terror on the

people of Jammu. Scores of men and women workers and sympathisers of Praja Parishad including our President Pt Prem Nath Dogra have been arrested and detained without trial. Warrants of arrests or externment orders have been issued against hundreds of others. All this, the Praja Parishad is convinced, has been done with a set plan to crush the Parishad. The ban imposed on the 'Milap and Partap' urdu Dailys of Delhi most widely circulated in the State and which voiced the feeling of the people of Jammu is an additional proof of it.

Praja Parishad Working Committee strongly condemns these most undemocratic and Fascist methods of the Kashmir Government. It challenges the Government to place any evidence it has against the Parishad before any court of law. It demands of the government to institute an Independent Enquiry Committee to look into the happenings of Jammu, release Praja Parishad leaders, cancel warrants against others and remove ban on the entry of Milap and Partap in the State.

The Committee also prays to the Government of India to take a realistic view of the situation of Jammu. Parishad is a friend of India, a better friend we claim, than the National Conference. It espouses the cause which is dear to every Indian today. The Government must protect and respect the legitimate rights and aspirations of the people of Jammu and not ride roughshod over them to please the party in power.

The Committee further takes the opportunity to thank the public and press of India who have sympathised with the just and patriotic cause of the Parishad and hopes that the Indian Public will continue to extend its helping hand to the Parishad in the achievement of its patriotic objective of making the Jammu & Kashmir State one with India exactly like the other acceding States.

Tribune Dated 11 - 2 - 52 Need for enquiry

A 72 hour curfew was imposed on Jammu following the unruly demonstrations by what has been described a violent crowd of 2000 demonstrators who tried to force their way into the secretariat. The demonstration which was staged on Friday on a small scale inside a local

(10)

College as a protest against the imposition of fine on two students is reported to have culminated in a procession towards the secretariat in defiance of the District Magistrate's order banning meetings and processions. In the way, so the report says, the demonstrators among whom were also women, attacked police officers and men on duty, and on reaching the secretariat they indulged in open lawlessness. The police made two lathi charges and fired two rounds to disperse the mob and bring the situation under control. Bk. Gulam Mohammad Deputy premier of Jammu and Kashmir has stated that it was an organised attempt on the part of Praja Parishad to subvert authority and create counfusion in the State. The Government according to him is holding enquiries into Friday's incidents and will make the findings public at the proper time. The press communique issued by the State information Bureau and the statement of the Jammu District Magistrate show that the trouble was brewing over since Jan. 15 when 10 to 15 students in the Government college in Jammu demonstrated against the National Conference ilag along side the Indian Union flag. Some of the student demonstrators were punished with fines. The. District Magistrate alleges that a large crowd of students mobbed the Cinema halls in an attempt to force admission at concession rates and that in consequence he had to impose a ban on meetings and processions. If all the facts released by the Government are correct the Praja Parishad stands condemend. No Government will and can spare an organisation which resorts to or instigates violence to attain its Objectives. A spokesmin of Praja Parishad the leaders of which are now under arrest has however denied that the Praja Parishad had anything to do with the demonstrations. He says "To say that the Parishad had organised demonstrations is a travesty of facts and intended to bring into disrepute the only opposition in the State. Mere assertions on one side and denials on the other do not lead to any positive conclusion, especially when the question of law and order is concerned. In the circumstances the only way to reach the truth is to hold an Independent Impartial and sifting Enquiry into the whole affair. According to Bakshi Gulam Mohd, the Jammu & Kashmir Government "was. in possession of the pre-arranged plans of certain political parties in the State to subvert authority and bring about

t state of confusion." That is all the more reason why an enquiry should be ordered. Once such an enquiry establishes the fact that the Praja Parishad had deliberately incited the forces of lawlessness and that it wanted to subvert authority by resert to violence it will be discredited for all times to come and will lose whatever support it has.

### National Herald Dated 12-2-52

The Parishad has denied having had anything to dewith the demonstration and demanded an impartial enquiry into the false and unfounded allegations levelled against it. Subject to the demands of security a thorough enquiry is called for and that there was a prearranged plan to create confusion in the State and if the statement of the Principal of the Government Gandhi Memorial College about Parishad workers having taken active interest in the students agitation is based on facts the Government will be strengthening its own position by ordering such an enquiry.

Hindustan Standard. Dated 10-2-52

If the Parishad has been at the back of the deplorable happenings in Jammu city, with intent to subvert authority and create chaos in the State, it deserves the strongest condemnation. In the interest of security to Kashmir, in which the whole of India is vitally concerned the serious charge made against the Parishad should be fully investigated and, if it be found true, suitable action should be taken. The question of proof however remains. We hope the Government of Jammu and Kashmir as well as that of India will publish the evidence in possession to establish the charge as true. That publicity will itself be a corrective. Things hatched and nursed in the darkness of secrecy usually fade within the sunlight of publicity. And the earlier it is done, the better.

Searchlight Patna Dated 13 2-52

The disturbances in Jammu City on Friday last which necessitated lathi charge by the Police and calling in of 72 hours curfew was unfortunate in the extreme. According to a Press Note issued by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir the demonstrations were organised by the Praja Parishad, but a leader of the later organisation has catagorically denied the charge. Whosover inspired and organised the violent demonstrations did

the State no good. One wonders if communists had nothad a hand in misleading the students. An enquiryinto the incident should unravel the mystery.

#### Amrit Bazar Patrika 13-2 52

The disturbances according to the press note recentally issued by the Kashmir Government were organised and inspired by the Praja Parishad "which wants to subvert authority and bring into existence chaotic condition in the State." Several leaders of Praja Parishad including its President have since been arrested and Bakshi Gulam Mohammad Deputy Premier of Kashmir has expressed his firm determination to maintain law and order in the State. But why do the Praja Parishad and its Political association create condition in the State? What are their grievances? What are their Political aims and plans? If they have been indulging in subversive activities to gain their political ends what precautionary measures have the Government Jammu and Kashmir taken to keep them in check in future? No light has been thrown in these matters till now either by the authority of the Kashmir Government or by any spokesman of the Parishad. It is therefore only logical to expect that an adequate explanation will soon be forthcoming from the State Government.

## Shri Shibban Izl Saxena's speech in the Parliament 3-3-52

It has been tried to be made out that if was a movement without support. But the admission that a thousand Hindu ladies took part in the protest procession in which thousands of other people also took part. That in fact the Indian military had to be called in to control the situation, shows that the movement had a large · public appeal behind it. There is therefore a clear case for a public inquiry to discover the truth. I hope Sheikh Abdulla will appoint a committee which will inspire confidence and will see that such things do not happen again. I had hoped that he would set standards which other people would follow. I am disappointed. If such things had happened in our Indian provinces, the whole country would be shaken. I expect that in Jammu he will try to deal with the situation with tact and intelligence and see that the present tangle is soon resolved.

Statement made in the Parliament by Shri H. V. Kamath on Jammu affair during the general debate on Budget for 1952-53 on 3-3-52. He said:

Sakesna has referred to Jammu & Kashmir and I would not repeat the points that he has made out. But I would certainly say that I hope that our troops and our armies in Jammu and Kashmir will not in any way lend-themselves to be used or exploited for the suppression or for dealing with the internal disturbances in Jammu-Kashmir. And I would like to say, before I close, that it is rather a paradox that the Praja Parishad of Kashmir which stands for complete integration of Kashmir with India and even the abolition or deletion of Article 370 from the Constitution should be looked down upon as a hostile body.

One hundred and fifty seven Praja Parishad

Latyagrahics were released from Srinegar jail on Ist of

August at 7 P.M. Seven satyagrahics in that jail have not

yet been released. They have been right singled out because
they protested against some derogatory remarks against the

Parishad and its 1-aders by the Deputy Superintendent of
the jail. Prominent among those released are Shree Shyam

Lal Sharma Organizing Secretary Japanu and Kashmir Praja

Parishad, Thadur Raghunath Singh Samyal, the famour Dogra

poet and Shri Hulk Raj Advocate of Samba.

The released satyagrahies were sent to Jammu onthe State transport buses without any police escert. At
Dalgate an erganized attack with stones and acid bottles
was made on the buses carrying satyagrahies by big mob
which had been collected there. As a resultingore than a
dezen satyagrahies received injuries. This news has created
great resentment in Jammu. The satyagrahies were also not
given bus fare for their their respective home places. The
satyagrahies on their arriv 1 in Jammu were received by
Pt. Prem Math Dogra and a large number of other Parishad
workers and citizens of Jammu at the Ambphala Octroi Post.

It is learnt from the satyagrahies that they were badly mal-treated in jail. A number of them were mercilessly beaten just on the eve of their release.

The General Secretary of the Parishad has cent telegram protecting against this treatment to released satyagrahies to Pt. Nehru, Dr. Katju and Sheikh Abdullah and Bakshi Culam Mohamed.

Publicity Secretary, and All Jammu and Kashmir Praja Farishad
Jammu.

Statement issued by Pt. Prem N. ... Dusta President All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad On 12th April 1952 after his release from, the jail.

The Jammu College boys' hunger strike has come and gone, but the trail it behind has been rather acrimonious. The Government issued a Press has left behind has been rather acrimonious. Communique on 8th Feb. last, justifying the extraordinary measures to suppress the students' agitation wherein the Praja Parishad was implicated and accused of "subverting authority". a not uncommon shibbiloth copied from the British Masters in India, and "inspiring the student to violence", an unwarranted an unsubstantiated charge. I at once contradicted the Govt's allegations and demanded an open, impartial and independent commission of enquiry to punish the guilty, but instead I was arrested with my colleagues that very night under the dark cover of 79 hrs. curfew clamping the city. After full two months detention in the icy cold cells of Srinagar Jail, I have now been released, but still I find that not all the arrested commrades have been set at liberty.

The present arrests have, however, confirmed the impression that the Govt. claiming to be the representative of democracy arrests people, detains them in jails, for undefined period without trials and resorts the undesireable restrictions on the liberty of the people. This is no democracy. Everyone in the State holding a political opinion different from that of the party in power but in no way anti-national is unsafe in the present regime, a state of affairs which does not add the fair name of the Government.

My arrest was made at a time when I was in correspondence with the President of the Indian Union in the matter of choosing members for the Indian Parliament from the State of Jam nu and Kashmir by election like other part B States of Hyderabad, Mysore, Saurashtra etc., and not by nomination as has now been done. - Persons of unrepresentative character have been elected in defiance of the people's genuine demand. The general feeling among the public has been that these unjustified arrests were simply. resorted to gag the popular voice and suppress opposition constitutionally started by the Praja Parishad. It is no tall talk that the Praja Parishad stands for unequivocal and complete accession to India with full application of the Indian Constitution and the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India to the State. Every one in the State has been simply disappointed and shocked at the speeches of Sheikh Abdullah and his Revenue Minister, Mr. Beg declaring that the State is independent in all respects and that the Constituent Assembly nominated by their party is sovereign for all purposes even to the extent of making the State a "Republic within a Republic." The position taken by these two leaders of the National Conference is not only unpatriotic but a challenge to the very Government of India of uncertainty from the enemy on the one hand and economic starvatic oth and to the Union of India to which we claim from the housetops to have accoded. 10 bespeaks an ingratitude which no citizen of Kashmir would endorse. I and my party want to reiterate in clear terms that our State has acceded to India for all matters and if any attempt is made to restrict or limit the full accession by continuing the unwanted Art. 370 in the Indian Constitution, we shall not hesitate to offer any sacrifice to resist it.

In the interest of India and the State, I would respectfully urge the President of

(i) To applint an independent commission to enquire into the recent College Boys' hunger strike and the Government's charge of Praja Psrishad's hand therein, as also the unwarranted and vindictive measure taken by the Govt.

(ii) To have the unwanted Art 370 delete from the Constitution of India so as to extend the full benefits of the said Constitution to the people of the State of Jammu

and Kashmir together with the jurisdiction of the supreme court.

(iii) To cancel the nomination of 10 members from the State to the Indian

Parliament and order their election like other part B States. (iv) To undo the disintegration or the Jammu Province into unwanted administrative units of Doda and Poonch Rajauri, to restrain the Govt. from the intended move of breaking of Ladakh Province.

(v) To issue a directive to the Govt. of the state that all talk of a "Republic within a Republic' is unconstitutional and that no member of Government party, or individual should indulge in such irresponsible declarations which are calculated to strengthen the enemy's hands when the fate of the state is hanging in the balance and

(vi) To order appropriate measures being taken by the Govt. of India to grant
an equal status to the people of the state with the people of India, and remove unwanted and restricted barriers of customs:

In the end, I want to thank my country men who despite of grave and extreme character have given proofs of their telerance and patience, by silently booring the vagaries of the Govt. in power. I assure them that the Praja Parishad will not rest content untill it attains the cherished goal for which it considers no cost the high and no sacrifice too great and expect every true citizen of the State to offer and lend it his or her support, unstinted and sincere.

Refore closing I would like to sound a note of friendly warning to the Govt. that they should behave as true servants of the people and not get puffed up with power to suppress their legitimate aspirations by resorting to tactics once employed by foreign

Govt. of India.

Prem Nath Dogra President, All J. & K. Praja Parishad Jammu.

Jammu 12th April, 1952

(09)

Respected Pandit J1,

I am pained to find from the letter of your Private Secretary that you have turned down my repeated request for an interview.

I have come from Jammu expressly with the idea of seeking your guidance about the difficult situation that has been created in the State by the deblarations and policies of the Kashmir Government particularly those concerning the future relationship of the State with India. Those who do not completely agree with the stand taken by the National Conference are not allowed to open their lips in the State and are not given any hearing by the your Government as well. But when they do anything to vindicate their stand both you as also Sheikh Abdullah's Government pounce upon them. This is a most unfortunate position.

Moreover an interview had become necessary to remove the wrong impression given to you by the interested persons regarding the alleged misuse of my previous interview with you.

I expected a more considerate and broad minded treatment from you. But the attitude adopted by you has disappointed mo.

Yours sincerely,

(Presmath Dogra),
President,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad,
Kalabadi, Heading Road,
New Delhi.

Shroe Jawaharlal Ji Nehro, Hom ble Prime Miniscer, Indian Dominion, Now Belhi. noutle Anganger

ONE of the most difficult problems in framing of Jammu & Kashmir State's constitution is to satisfy regional aspirations and other demands of a like nature. The draft circulated has suggested the division of the State into four administrative regions. But this regional divisions proposed in the draft, I am afraid, will rely to the fragmentation and disrupt the progressive political movements in the State as a whole. The proposed regional redistribution of areas has ignored gegraphy, natural barriers, physical lay out of the land. atural outlets, economic and trade relations, and cultural affinities. The draft envisages an unnatural grouping of areas mainly on communal percentage of populations, which if agreed to, might do infinite mischief to the growth of secular politics. The arrange--ments contemplated will fan communal and racial rivalries and passions, foment communal combinations and encourage communal alignments. The creation of Doda and Rajouri Districts was in the main a purely administrative measure and assurances to this effect were given by the Govt. at the time of their creation to the people of those areas and the people of Jammu. Moreover, such a move at this juncture will help to strengthen the Imperialist plans for a zonal and communal partition of the State.

and it would be of immense help to see how they were solved. An attempt should be made to meet regional aspirations without creating separate Govt. Heads, without incurring extra expenditure or effecting fragmentation of financial resources. The case of Austria - Hungry of the pre-1914-era is an instructing instance. If we call Austria-Hungry a Union, Hungry a province and Croatia, a sub province of Hungary, the relations between the province and the sub province were as follows:-

- 1. The Union, the Province and the sub-province had a common Head.
- 2. Each had its own legislature and executive dealing with its own subjects.
- 3. The sub-province had its own contingent of members both in the provincial legislature and the Union kagitat Legislature.
- 4. The sub-province had a special Minister in the provincial cabinet.
- Another useful instance is the Government machinery in the united Kingdon for this purpose, it is useful to study the administrative arrangements obtaining in the country in 1912, when the whole of Ireland was still as a part of the United Kingdom. In the U.K. Cabinet of 1912 there were 15 members concerned with domestic administration. If, therefore, dealt with subjects of common interest and exercised their powers in each of the three parts of U.K. Of the rest three were exclusively meant for England, one Secretary of the State for Scotland had functions only in Scotland and one had functions only in Ireland; others had functions in one part and some in more than one. On the legislative side there was also some measure of regionalism.

It is possible to adapt these arrangements with suitable modifications to the State conditions and meet the desire for regional autonomy to a considerable extent, without jeopardising the political integrity of the State as a whole. The following arrangements based on the two instances quoted above, if considered, can satisfy to a large extent local aspirations without breaking up the State. These arrangements will constitute a particular mode of administering an existing Unit.

1. For more convenient transaction of business the

State of Jammu and Kashmir may be divided into two administrative Units, the province of Jammu and the province of Kashmir. The Kashmir province shall consist of the three districts of the Kashmir Valley, and Tehsils of Kargil and Ladakh. The Jammu Province shall comprise Jammu Kathua, Udhampur, Doda and Poonch-Rajouri Districts

- 2. The executive Head of the State will also be the executive Head of the province.
- 3. Both the provinces will have a common legislature elected on adult franchise which shall meet twice in Jammu during Winter and twice at Srinagar during Summer and Spring Autumn.
- 4. During the first fortnight of its Session, the legislature shall function as the provincial legislature shan of the province in which it has met, when members elected from that province need alone be present. For the remaining period of its Session, the legislature shall meet as the National Assembly of the State as a whole.
- 5. The Head of the State will be advised by provincial Ministers elected from the legislatures of that province in affairs relating to the provincial subjects and by the central cabinet for affairs of common concern.
- 6. The provincial Ministers will have their permanent
  Headquarters at the Capital of the each province, where
  as the Ministers of the Central Cabinet shall move
  during Winter to Jammu and during Summer to Srinagar.
- 7. All executive actions of the Government will be taken in the name of the Head of the State and deemed as the executive action of the Jammu and Kashmir Government.

  How and by whom the action is taken is purely a matter of domestic arrangement.
- 8. The action of the legislature similarly will be deemed as the action of the State National Assembly. Through which particular set of legislature, the State

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legislature acts for a given purpose is again a domestic detail.

- 9. Each province shall have its own official language or languages.
- 10. The cultural and linguistic minorities in each province shall have statutary right to receive education through the language of their choice and there shall be a minister belonging to that University to look after their interests in the provincial set of ministers.
- ll. The following subjects shall be deemed to be of provincial interest localself Government, Panchayat rural development, Co-operatives, Public Health, Veterinary, Education; Primary and Secondary, Libraries, Museums and institutions of like nature, Relief and Rehabilitation, Roads, Works, Lands and Buildings, Bridges, in land water ways, Ferries. Agriculture, Irrigation, Water supply, Electricity, Forests, Protection of wild animals, Birds and fisheries, Mines and minerals development, Inland trade and comerce, Tourism, inland transport, Markets, Fairs, Pilgrimage, Theatre, Cinema, Batting and gambling, Planning and Industries.
- 12. The following Heads of revenue can be pooled for the provincial administration fund:
  - a) Land Revenue, Abiana etc.,
  - b) Income from Forests,
  - c) Taxes on the entry of goods into a local area,
  - d) Tax on the consumption of electricity and water supply
  - e) Tax on animals, boats,
  - f) Fines for offences against laws, with respect to matters on the provincial list.

Such an arrangement has several advantages. It:

1) Meets to a large extent the demand for regional self-rule. The degree of separation and autonomy can be varied by extending or reducing the list of joint

subjects.

- 2. It avoids unnecessary overhead expenditure. The creation of two set of ministers will not necessarily mean increase in expenditure. The creation of provincial minister will obviate the necessity of deputy ministers and some inter provincial Heads like the Chief Conservator of Forests, Director General Rural uplift and Tourism etc. etc. The present combined secretariat is already over staffed. It can easily be reorganised and redistributed to suit the arrangement of Two set of ministers.
- 3. It meets the fears of distinct culture and linguistic minorities without breaking the geographic and natural unity of the area and without encouraging communal and other disruptive tendencies.
- 4. It maintains the political integrity of the State.
- working of the two provincial administrations and the centre can be secured by evolving a working convention whereby the senior minister from Kashmir provincial ministers may be allowed to function as the Prime Minister of the State and the Senior provincial minister from Jammu to function as the Deputy Prime Minister in addition to the provincial work allotted to them. Each can represent his provincial Govt. when the National Assembly is in session in the province other than the one which he represents.

The plan suggested may at first sight seem to be cumberous and unusual. But the detailed arrangements will in fact be secured not by provisions in the Constitution but by rules of business framed and by evolving suitable legislature and executive convenience and precedents. If some particular mode of business is found to be defective it can be altered by altering the relevant rule of business.

For the arrangements proposed and the analysis

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of the different constitutions, I am indebted to the Pamphlets on Regional arrangements published by Shri B.N.Rau, the World known Jurist and Constitutionalist.

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The subsequent political developments, activities and utterances of even some of the top National Conference leadership had rang encouraged the disruptive forces to make a fresh attempts to disintegrate the State. Sheikh Abdullah was said to be drifting away from the rest of India and even Jammu and Ladakh regions. In a sensational speech on April 10, 1952 at R.S. Pura Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, while referring to 'unrealistic, childish and · mBane Wasane" arguments for full application of the Union Constitution to the State, he said :

"No one can deny that the Communal spirit still exists in India. Many Kashmiris are apprehensive as to what will Contd...16

happens to them and their position if, for instance, something happens to Pt. Nehru.... As realists, we Kashmiris have to provide for all eventualities. If a special status for kashmir was not granted in Indian Constitution, how can we convince the Muslims in Kashmir that India does not interfer in the internal affairs of Kashmir? We have acceded to India in regard to defence, foreign affairs, and communications in order to ensure a sort of internal autonomy....If our right to shape our own destiny is challenged and if there is a resurgence of communalism in India, how are we to convince the Muslims of Kashmir that India does not intend to swallow up Kashmir....Such developments might/lead to a break in the accession of Kashmir to St-63 44 India.

He repeatedly assured his people in Kashmir that he had never surrendered to Muslim communalism of Pakistan and would never surrender to Hindu Communalism of India.

He further said :

"If Jammu and Ladakh so desire they can integrate with India and leave valley free to have a limited accession. 46

In another speech on April 18, 1952, while addressing a mammoth public meeting at Hazratbal, he said that Kashmiris in no way were prepared to renounce their cherished ideology in furtherance of which they had affored blood and sweat during the two decades. He further added that Kashmir had acceded to India

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in respect of only three subjects - Defence, External Affairs and Communications and that they enjoyed complete freedom in their internal affairs and had the right to shape their destiny according to the wishes of the people. 47 In another speech at Hazaratbal on April 25, 1952 he, while discussing Indo-Kashmir relations, pointed out that the whole world was aware of their policy that the Consembly would decide three important issues - framing of Constitution, the future of the ruling dynasity and the accession of the State.

These speeches caused an uproar in some parts of the State and the Indian press and the public opinion was also much agitated.

May I Denote - Deno

#### A NATIONAL SONG\*

Let this Flag of Kashmir be unfurled; The Flag of our people, Of young and old alike, Of the strong and the non-violent, And of our poor peasants Wheever plough the land.

Let this Flag be always flying Over our valleys and our lakes. Till the day of Judgement Let it raise its proud head.

May this Flag forever fly
Over the meadows and the mountain tops
Over pastures green and rushing streams,
And limitless expanse of land;
May it ever fly over the houses of the poor
And adorn the mansions of the rich.

Let this Flag be ever flying In the four corners of this land; Till the day of Judgement Let this our symbol be.

This red Flag of Kashmir,
This beloved flag of ours,
And of our peasants, too;
Which brings succour to the poor
And the down-trodden.
And gladdens every heart.

May it fly forever In every nonk and corner. Till the day of Judgment; May I behold Thee!

#### Hon'ble Rresident:

Today's meeting is declared closed. We will meet again on Tuesday the 10th of June 1952 at Eleven of the clock in this House.

\*Enelish translation of the song adapted from Radio Kashmir

a resolution adopting a flag for the State replacing the Dogra Tlay on June 7, 1952. It also restricted the use of Union flag to formal occasion. Pt. Prem Nath Dogra in a statement said that the decision of the Constituent Assembly was narrow sighted and ill-conceived and reflected one party's ideology, that solely comprised the Kashmir Consembly. He further added that the provocative decision of Constituent Assembly had caused deep resentment throughout and particularly in the province of Jammu. On the other hand an interim report recommending the abolition of hereditary monarchyand the elected head of the state was presented to the Consembly by the Basic Principles committee on June 10, 1952 and it was unanimously adopted on June 12, 1952 1 While condemning such decisions the Praja Parishad leaders pointed out that the people of Jammu were being made to ery for selfdetermination, and that the will of the Kashmir valley people could not be to the people living outside

STATEMENT ISSUED BY PT. PREMNATH DOGRA ON 12.6.1952 PRESIDENT PRAJA PARISHAD.



decisions are being rushed through by the uprepresentative Constituent Assembly of Sh.Abdulla at Srinagar: The first instalment of riwhich (State Flag) was dished out to us on saturday the 7th of June 52 and the 2nd (Ruling Dynasty) is being presented to us on a platter of challenge in a day or so. In one breath of heated passion the C.A. was made to vote a New Red Flag in place of the time honoured State Flag and as a rival flag of Union of India to which we have acceded.

N.C Constituent Assembly, I apprised the President of Indian Union, the Prime Minister of India and other top ranking political leaders in time and besought them to intervene in the larger interests of the people, the State and the Union of India especially in view of the fact that Kashmir dispute was still pending with the security council and any in-cautious step taken or any undersirable measure adopted may not adversely affect our vital interests.

Since the provocative decisions of the C.A. have caused deep resentment throughout and particularly in the province of Janua, I have summoned my Executive to meet on 14th & 15th of June to discuss the State Flag, the position of the Ruling Dynasty, future relations of Jammu with the rest of State and other very important matters concerning the welfare of the country and its people as a whole.

In order the provocative decisions of the C.A. have ca-

give any individual expression of resentment or take any it without doe consideration as a mark of project against such narrow-sighted and ill-conceived decisions of the one party Constituent Assembly or the irritating speechesof its members (which are infalliably relayed on the Govt. Radionof Kashmir), I appeal to all my countrymen to remain quiet and await the instructions of the P.P. Executive.

Jammu; 10.6.1952 Sd.Prem Nath Dogra,
President,
All Jammu & Kashmir Praja Parishad.

Shri Amar Kshatriya Prantik Sabha, Jammu also resented these decisions and passed resolutions against them, the copies of which were sent to the members of Government of telegrams based upon the resolutions were also sent to the Prime Minister of India, Dr. Katju, N. Gopalaswamy Ayyanger, Yuvraj Karan Singh and other top leaders of political parties of India. CC-0. Nanaji Deshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

#### COPY OF A TELEGRAM

DATED 14TH JUNE 1952

From the President, Shri Amar Kashtriya Prantik Sabha Jammu to the

- 1. President Rajendraparsad Republic of India New Delhi
- 2. Primier Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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- 3. Doctor Kelashnath Katju States Minister India
- 4. Defence Minister N. Gopalaswami Ayyanger
  - 5. Shri Yuvraj Karansinghji of Kashmii Ambassader Hotel ,, and other top ranking political leaders of India and prominent News Papers.

Two resolutions adopted by unrepresentative Sheikh Abdullah's Kashmir Constituent Assembly changing time honoured State flag and terminating hereditary monarchy prefaced by provocative speeches of the Primier and his colleagues are a challenge to the sacrifices gallantry and statesmanship of Dogras and Ruling House particularly Rajputs, and Kashmir has acceded to India as Part B State and cannot adopt any separate Flag or frame any Constitution of its own under Indian not sovereign body Constitution Assembly is Constitution aaa Kashmir like Constituent Assembly of India and is not competent to frame any constitution or adopt any resolution or pass any measure bringing it in direct conflict with Indian Constitution or accession of State to Indian Union aaa Maharajas Constitutional Sovereignty was never contemplated to be terminated by Government of India is evident from Maharajas proclamation of 5th March 1948 and Yuvaraj Karan Singh's proclamation of 25th November 1949 and article 370 of Constitution of India not even by the resolution of National Conference dated 27th October 1950 foreworded by Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru aaa Maharaja as Constitutional Ruler is a political necessity and a unifying link between different geographical and political units of State as held by Sir Owen Dixon aaa Terminating of hereditary monarchy tentamount to disintegration of State and a political suicide on part of Sheik Abduliah when Kashmir case still pending in Security council especially in view of fact that it was Maharaja who acceded to India unreservedly thereby recognising alliance of State as part and parcel of India aaa Peoples of State particularly Dogras while fully alive to democratic needs of present day consider adoption of resolutions as a challenge to their very existence, self respect and integrity of State aaa Pray intervention under article 366 and 370 of Constitution of India and request withdrawal of two resolutions and also restraining Sheikh Abdullah from making any undignified speeches or passing any measures without ascertaining the will of political units of State and not self nominated Constituent assembly of Sheikh Abdullah.

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of India, Pt. Prem Nath Dogra - the President of the All J & K Praja Parishad on June 19, 1952/pointed out that recommendations to make Kashmir as an Autonomous Republic within Indian Republic with separate National Assembly, president and judiciary and subsequent speeches of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah had made it clear that National Conference wanted a very loose relationship and namaji beshmukh Library, BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

To



- l. Shreb Dr., Rajendra Prasad Ji, Rashtrapati, Indian Union,
- 2. Shree Jawaharlal Ji Nehru, The Mon'ble Prime Minister, Indian Union,
- 3. Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, The Hon'ble States Minister, Indian Union.

#### HEW DELHI.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

THE future of the Jammu

and Kashwir State, particularly its relationship with India is a matter of vital and paramount importance to the people of the State. The people of Jammu are particularly anxious to ensure that their State becomes firmly and finally a permanent Unit of the Indian Union and are prepared to pay any price for it.

one with the rest of India that induced the people of Jammu to offer their fullest cooperation to the Kashmir National Conference when powers of day to day administration were transferred to it by the Maharaja at the behest of the Government of India; This was done in the hope, that the leaders of the National Conference would overcome their past prejudices against the Dogras of Jammu and carry the whole people of the State with them to achieve the common goal of full accession to India.

Abdullah's Government not only failed to appreciate this cooperative spirit but even mistook it for a sign of weakness and adopted a policy of systematic deliberate discrimination and repression against the people of James Province generally and their representative body the Praja Parishad particularly. This representative and discriminatory policy extends to all spheres of political, economic and cultural life of the people and even amounts

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(Amounts) to interference in their religious life.

4. In the first place the civil liberties of the people of Jammu, their freedom of speech and their right to participate in formulating and if necessary of criticising Government policies particularly those relating to the relationship of the State with India in a constitutional manner, have been completely denied and effectively curbed by frequent arbitrary use of Section 50 of the Defence of Kashmir Rules, and the Public Security Act. Not content with this wholesale suppression, Abdullah's Government has started a regular campaign of harvassment of the people by initiating general censorship of press post and telegram and introducing measures whereby the relatives of the Praja Parishad people are made liable to lese their appointments and pensions. There are cases where such steps have already been taken. As a result, the voice of the people, who are dissatisfied with the present policy of limited accession and want closer and complete union with India, has been completely gagged. Newspapers that dare criticise the Govt. have been suppressed and silonced. The Indian Newspapers that happened to be sympathetically critical of the policies pursued by the Kashmir Govt, have been banned in the State. The President of the Praja Parishad and his co-workers have been repeatedly arrested and detained without trial for long periods. Recently, in February, this year, the Students' Agitation against the use of the Party Flag at a public function in place of the State Flag was made an excuse to adopt repressive measures against the Praja Parishad and a veritable reign of terror was let loose on the people of Jammu. A number of its prominent workers were externed from the State. This has made the condition of the people much worse than it was even under the old autocratic regime. The people of Jammu and Kashmir have no fundamental rights and cannot approach even the Supreme Court of India for protection.



- been made during all these years to break the linguistic and cultural ties that bind the State with the rest of India. Hindi occupied an equal place with Urdu in the educational life of the State before accession. Now it has been completely relegated to the background. Urdu has been made the official language of the State and the medium of instruction in the Schools. Even the Text Books meant for girls are full of difficult Persian and Arabic words which even the Teachers do not understand. Urdu has been made a compulsory subject for the Matriculation Examination. A sense of Kashmiri Nationalism, as distinct from Indian Nationalism, is sought to be created through the books prescribed for the school going children.
- 6. Among the seven men who constitute Text Book Committee of the State, there is not a single person belonging to Jemmu or to the minority community.
- 7. A separate University for the few Colleges of the State has been established entailing heavy burden on the State Exchequer only to cut off the educational and cultural ties which a common University created between the students of the State and of India, Even the Exemination papers are set with the object of creating anti-Dogra feeling in the examinees as will be clear from a parusal of English Paper B, for the Intermediate Examination 1952 of the J&K University.
- 8. In the administrative sphere, the Party interestich have been carefully nursed at the expense of merit, fairplay and the wider interests of the State. Recruitment to the services used to be made through open competition or on merit and seniority during the Maharaja's Regime. Now, the only qualification for winning or retaining a public office is party affiliation. Almost all the key-posts are held by men from the Kashmir Province. Sheikh Abdullah has publicly declared that he wants the party and the

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(the) Government to be managed entirely by the same personnel, ignoring that this practice is followed in totalitarian States. Communalism, against which Sheikh Abdullah is fond of talking so loudly, is being practised so extensively in the State Administration that notices advertising vacancies of Govt. posts sometimes clearly say that "only Mohammadans need apply".

9. The men in power in the State, judged from the polities they have been pursuing, seem to be determined to make the people of the State feel that they are being ruled from Srinagar. The Training College, which was started by the Maharaja's Govt. in Jammu, has been shifted to Srinagar, the Tosha-Khana, which contained all the valuables and curlos of the State along with manuscripts lying in the Jammu Library, have also been carried to Srinagar. It was planned to shift the State Press also from Jammu to Srinagar, but this has been postponed for the time being as the result of Public protost. Jammu enjoyed the status of a separate Province with a separate Governor during the old regime. Now the separate entity of Jammu Province has been destroyed by abolishing the Governorship and lumping together the Districts of Jammu and Kashmir under one Commissioner. The territorial limits of the various administrative units of the Jammu Province have been altered with a view to the eventual partition of the Province into Hindu and Muslim Zones so that the Muslims may be in a position to act at the critical time to the deteriment of India. The Udhampur District bx which had a clear Hindu majority and acted as direct link between Jammu and Ladakh, has been split up into two Units. Its Worth pn areas like Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Ramban, which contain most of the mineral and forest wealth of the State have been constituted into a separate Muslim majority district of Dods, which is intended eventually to be amalgamated with Kashmir. The minorities in the zone are being haryassed and threatened

(and threatened) to leave, the illegal provocative speeches are being delivered by the National Conference leaders in the very presence of the police without any action being taken. Arms and ammunition is being manufactured and supplied to the members of the majority community. This district besides destroying the natural cohesion of the Jammu Province has become a wedge separating Jammu from Ladakh. Similarly, Reasi district was split up and a new District of Rajouri-Poonch created. The Tehsil of Reasi with a preponderant population of Hindus was joined with Udhampur and the remaining portion of Reasi District 1.6. the Tehsil of Rajouri was joined with Muslim majority areas of Poonch. Further, with a view to extend this newly created District of Rajouri Poonch a portion of Reasi Tehsil in the West of River Chenab and certain Northron Patwars of Akhnoor Tehsil, which are predominantly Hindi areas are being separated to form a new Niabat of Sunderbani. The motive underlying these measures becomes clear 11. when we keep in view the treatment meted out to the thousands of Hindu and Sikh refugees, who emigrated from the Pakistan held territories of the State. They want to settle in the State. There is enough room to settle them all. In Jammu District alone 7,04,914 kanals of evacuee land is available for settlement. But instead of allotting that land to the refugees it has been given to favourites on payment of five times the annual land revenue which emount is being credited to Muslim evacuees fund. The Govt. of India all this time has been spending crores of rupees on feeding these refugees, who are now being sent out to distant places like Bikaner and Bhopal against their wishes. The law defining the term " State subject" is being so interpreted as to prevent people of Indian domicile from settling in the State. But when it comes to Kazaks from Turkistan, all these Laws are put aside and they have been given full naturalisation rights to settle in Kashmir Valley. Similarly, lacs of Pakistanis have been allowed

( allowed ) to infiltrate into the State during the last four years. They have been helped to settle down in the State.

- 13. The economic condition of the people of the State, particularly in Jamu and Ladakh, has greatly deteriorated during the last four and a half years. New taxes have been imposed and the existing ones enhanced from two to five times with the result, that their burden has become almost unbearable considering that the average income is about one half of that in the rest of India and the burden of taxation considerbly much more. The Govt. control over the Transport and distribution of all articles of necessity is telling heavily on the people. The burden of exhorbitant Customs duties continues to shatter our economy. A thing worth rupge one at Pathankot costs us between 37% to 50 % above that price in the State. Within the State, Govt. monopolies have replaced private enterprise to the detriment of the consumer. The charges for transport of commodities to different parts of the State fixed by the Covt. are much higher than the rates charged by the Private transporters. The scope for Private Transport has been practically eliminated by the establishment of the Government Transport Deptt. There is no free competition. Petrol which is derationed throughout India is controlled in the State, This has not benefitted the people at all except perhaps a few families of the ruling party.
- of the Government policies quite early. The President of the Praja Parishad, brought these apprehensions and grievances also to the notice of the Government of India. We have undergone all this suffering in the hope that it will end with the complete accession of the State to India, when we will have all the benefits of Indian citizenship including the protection of fundamental rights which is guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. But that hope has now begun to change into despair. When the elections to the Constituent

(Constituent) Assembly for the State were ordered last year; we were given to understand that the Constituent Assembly would ratify the accession of the State to India. We, therefore, prepared ourselves to take part in the elections. But to our great disappointment, 41 out of 59 nomination papers of the Praja Parishad nominees were rejected on flimsy grounds and conditions were created through official pressure which made fair elections impossible. I appealed to Sheikh Abdullah as also to the Government of India to hold an independent judicial inquiry into the wholesale rejection of nomination papers of the Praja Parishad candidates and prevent Government servants from abusing their authority by helping actively the National Conference candidates, so that the fears of the people regarding partiality of the elections may be allayed. But no heed was paid to our requests with the result that the Praja Parishad was forced to boycott the elections under protest. The Constituent Assembly is clearly a packed body and consists of the nominees of single party. It is not a sovereign body. It does not represent the people of the State at all. The people of Jammu have no voice in it. Moreover, the representatives of the State in Indian

15. The announcement made by Mirza Afzal Beg, a member of the Basic Principles Committee of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, that Kashmir would be an autonomous Republic within the Indian Republic with a separate National Assembly President and judiciary and the subsequent speeches of Sheikh Abdullah have made it clear that National Conference wants a very loose relationship with India and not full accession like other Part B States. So our hope that redress will come to us through the application of the Indian Constitution in its entirety to the State has been

Parliament are all nominees of this Constituent Assembly.

Thus we have no representation in the Indian Parliament

either.

(136)

(State has been) dashed to the ground. Our very existence as a self-respecting section of the Indian people is now in danger.

- 16. Further more the recent vital decisions made by the Constituent Assembly, regarding State Flag and termination of the Ruling Dynasty, have caused deep resentment throughout the State and particularly in the Province of Jammu. From this, it is evident that the things in the State are drifting towards the creation of an Independent Republic.
  - 17. The whole sale condomnation of the heroes and founders of the State have greatly wounded the feelings of the people of the Jammu Province which indicates that the people of the Jammu Province in general are looked upon by the party in power with contempt.
  - your honour with the request which may look drastic but which is the only alternative now left to us. Leaving out of consideration for the mement those parts of the State which are now under the illegal occupation of Pakistan, the India held territory of the State is made up of three distinct regions namely, Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir Valley.
  - 19. The people of each of these regions, are a distinct people with a distinct language, culture and history and a definite territory. The Jammu region lies south of the Pir-panchal Range as far as the Cease Fire Line at Suchet-sarh, and between Ravi and Jhelum Rivers in the East and West, and includes Doda and Padar areas. This Unit forms the core round which Maharaja Gulab singh wove the present fabric of Jammu and Kashmir State.
  - 20. We of Jammu claim the right to determine our future ourselves. Had Kashmir Valley, the most populous region, held with us the view that the State should accede to India as one of its integral part like other part B States, we need not have made this demand. But now that we find that the State Constituent Assembly is taking decisions

(decisions) for the entire State in matters of dum fundamental importance to our future existence which run counter to our declared wishes and are detrimental to our interests and those of INDIA AS A WHOLE, we are constrained to approach you for the protection of our legitimate rights and interests. And whatever may be the views of the other regions of the State about their accession to India being limited only to a certain number of subjects, we of Jammu Province desire that we shall be united and integrated with India in the same manner as other Part B States have been. We claim that the people of Jammu Province hold this view and that if necessary this can be ascertained and verified by any recognised democratic method through an agency independent of the present Kashmir Government. We are glad to note from the speeches of Shre Kaushak Bakola that Ladakh holds similar views and demands similar rights for that region. Sheikh Abdullah is also reported to have said in one of his speeches " If Jarmu and Ladakh so desire, they can decide to integrate with India and leave Kashmir Valley free to have limited accession".

21. Being the descendants of those, who sacrificed their blood and resources to build up this great and integrated State, it was our desire, that the entire State including those parts which are still held by Pakistan should form like other Part B States an integral part of the Republic of India. To bring about that consolidation we are prepared, like our ancestors willingly and cheerfully to make the greatest sacrifices including that of life to reconquer for India what rightfully belongs to her and us.

But till that happens, we cannot agree with Sheikh Abdullah that like Kashmir Valley, we also should accede to our own MOTHERLAND with reservations.

22. Permit us in the end to request you to judge us and this our demand as doming from a people, who have always been and shall always remain Indian. That is our greatest

(greatest) price. Imagine for a moment any other part of India whether in the East, West or South placed in that awkward prodicement in which we are and then you will probably agree that the same demand would have been made by the people of that region. As children of India, it is but natural that we should resist any move to keep us away from our Motherland in howsoever a small degree. As it is attempted to keep us substantially out of India, we, there--fore, want to make it clear that we shall not accept any such position. We want the entire Constitution of India to apply to Jammu. We want to have the protection of the Supreme Court, we want to enjoy the fundamental rights as all Indians do, we want the same Flag as is allowed to Part B States and not the Red Flag now selected by Sheikh Abdullah and we want to be governed by the laws of the Indian Legislature, That way lies the future of Jamma and we feel it our patriotic duty to resist with all the strength at our command attempts from whatever quester made to thwart the full accession of Jammu with India.

Yours faithfully,

(PREM WATH DOCKA)

President. All J & K Praje Parishad HQs. Janua. Dated Jammu, the 19 June '52.

Shore Ropalarman of Arygangar Defence



# Inmmu & Australie Praja Pariskad



( Central Office Jammu )

2 Copis

Dated .....

To

The Chief Election Commissioner, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar.

Dear Sir,

of our . Freedom of Press and Platform both being the sinc-quo-non of free and fair election, you were kind enough to recomend our case to Hon'ble Bakashi. Ghulam Mohammad the Deputy Prime Minister. Time left for elections being too short, the matter need is to be given top-most priority. I expect from you, as the head of election work, that you would see that the chances of fair and impartial election are not curtailed and that the Praja Parishad is allowed to run its own paper without loss of further time.

Yours faithfully,

sh: D.P. Dhar, full ha-

Chief Election Commissioner, Janmu and Kashmir Government,

Srinagar.



#### -: 13 :-

President of the party in a press release at Delhi on October 6, 1951 mentioned the following melafide tactics used by the Government:

- i) Not holding elections in the provinces of Kashmir and Jammu simultaneously;
- ii) Irregular Delimitation;
- iii) No general seat in three constituencies;
- iv) Out of the way polling stations;
- v) 41 out of 65 nominations of Praja Parishad candidates being rejected on the most flimsy grounds;
- vi) Favour towards the National Conference candidates; and
- vii) Officiac-oinahan Deshanakh பெர்வர், BJP, Jammu. Digitized by eGangotri

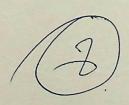
Dear Sir,

The Praja Parishad has decided to contest elections to the Constituent Assembly and for this purpose our workers in the field are already working day and night for the success. We are receiving constant demand from the field that we must have a paper of our own to give proper publicity to our cause and to make the voters constious of the value of votes. It is not possible to go from village village and from voter to voter to make known the instruction, sound. time after time by the organization. The necessity of Newspape durin all times and especially in the present democratic set up can ot be over-emphasised. Your Govt; have proclaimed so often to the atside world that there is complete freedom of speech and Press in the State and I am certain and confident that the Govt; have no intention denying the same to our organization.

But I am sorry to point out that inspite of repeated. requests to the local authorities, this just and democratic demand has not been acceded, this just and democratic demand has not been accoded so far. The first request for the purpose was made about six months back to the District Magistrate Jammu.

Now we are in the thick of election work and the need of the paper is more pressing. I therefore request you kindly to ask the local authorities to accord the necessary sanction and accept our declaration of a paper named" Swedoch " already filed with the District Magistrate Jammu. Since the elections are fast approaching an early action in the matter is desired.

Yours faithfully,



-: 11 :-

convince them that India does not interefer in the internal affairs of Kashmir.... We have acceded to India in regard to defence, foreign affairs and communications and not in respect of other subjects because we wanted one kind of autonomy for ourselves in internal matters."

When the Security Council of United Nations organisation, to whom the question of Pakistan's aggression on Kashmir was referred, found itself incapable of arriving at a decision in the near future, the people of the State were left to themself/C/ to find ways and means to put an end to the agony and uncertainty k to which they were then placed. Even Sir Owen Dixion's report was against the very objective on which the people of J & K State reposed faith in U.N.O. Thus, in order to put an end the State of uncertanity, wait and see, frustration and agony and fully recognising the right of self determination of the people of the State, the General Council of the All J & K National Conference issued a mandate to the Supreme National Executive of the party on October 27, 1950 to convene the Constituent Assembly based upon adult suffrage and embracing all section of the people and all constituents of the State for the purpose of determining the future shape and affiliations of the State of J & K. 27

The All J & K Praja Parisnad and the All J & K Sahayak Sabha critised and condemned such a move when all the political parties of the State had already given a unanimous verdit for its accession to Indian Union. They regarded it another move for an 'Independent Kashmir'. 28

On the other hand, in order to prove the plebiscite in Kedundent in the light of democratic set up, Govt. of

Contd...13

The State of Jammu and Yashmir acceded to India 221. on October 26,1947. The form of the Instrument of Accession executed by the Rulers of the state is the as that of the Instruments executed by the Rulers of other acceding States. Legally and constitutionally therefore the position of this State is the same as that the other acceding States. The Government of India, no doubt, stand committed to the position that accession of this State is subject to confirmation by the people of the State. This, however, does not detract from the legal fact of accession. The State has therefore been included in Part B States. In view of the special problem arising in respect of this State and the fact that the Government of India have assured its people that they would themselves finally determine their political future, the following special provision has been made in the Constitution: 370.(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution.

- (a) the provisions of article 238 shall not apply in relation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir;
- (b) the power of Parliament to make laws for the said State shall be limited to -
- (i) those matters in the Union List and the Concurrent list which, in consultation with the Government of the State, are declared by the President to correspond to matters specified in the Instrument of Accession governing the accession of the State to the Dominion of India as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for that State; and
- (ii) such other matters in the said Lists as, with the concerrence of the Government of the State; the President may by order specify.

EXPLANATION: - For the purposes of this article, the Govtt. of the State means the person for the time being recognised by the President as the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers for the time being in office under the Maharaja's Proclamation dated the fifth day of March, 1948;

- (c) The provision of article I and of this article sahll apply in relation to that State;
- (d) Such of the other provisions of this Constitution shall apply in relation to that State subject to such exceptions and modifications as the President may by order specify;

Provided that no such order which relates to the matters specified in the Instrument of Accession of the State referred to in Paragraph (i) of sub-clause (b) shall be issued except in consultation with the Govtt. of the State;

Provided that further that no such order which relates to matters other than those referred to in the last preceding provise shall be issued except with the concurrence of that Government.

- (2) If the concur ence of the Government of the State referred to in paragraph (ii) of sub-clause (b) or in the second proviso to sub-caluse (d) of clause (I) be given before the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing the Constitution of the State is convened, it shall be placed before such Assembly for such decision as it may take thereon.
- (3) Nothithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this article the President may, by public notification declare that this article shall cease to be operative or shall be operative only with such exceptions and modifications and from such date as he may specify.

Provided that the recommendation of the Constituent
Assembly of the State referred to in clause (2) shall be
necessary before the President issues such a notification

The effect of this provision is that the State of Jammu and Kashmir, continues to be a part of India. It a unit of the Indian Union and Union Parliament will have jurisdiction to make laws for this State on matters specified either in the Instrument of Accession or by later additions with the concurrence of t of the Government of the State. An order has been issued under Article 370 specifying (1) the matters in respect of which the Parliament may make laws for the Jammu and Kashmir State and (2) the provisions, other than Article I and Article 370, which shall apply to that State (Appendix LVI). Steps will be taken for the purpose of convening a Constituent Assembly which will go into these matters in detail and when it comes to a decision on them, it will make a recommendation to the President who will either abrogate Article 370 or/direct that it shall apply with such modifications and exceptions as he may specify.

#### Jammo & Hashmir Praja Parishad जम्म्—कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jamma)

of cruis

Ref. No ... 94/2/F

Dated 2:7:1951.

Hear Sir

This is in communation of our previous letter No. 91/2/P 26.6.1951. It has been learnt from reliable sources that the Kash mir Government has come to harbour certain doubts and misgivings bbout the bonafides of the Praja Parishad. Parishad has declared so many times in its satements as well as in public speeches that its sims and objects are to serve the people of Jammu and Kashmir State irrespective of religion, caste, greed or language and that it is national in ov-look and considers every citizen of the State equal and that it 1 with the Government, as long as the Government is furthering those ims and objectives and where the Government departs from thoseaims and objectives, it would offer healthy opposition, but i/no case it would disturb the peace of the State, So far and in fuyre too the Praja Parishad will remain wedged to this policy inspe of provocation and incitement from some National Conference work, who are out toxagents produce wrong impressions, and create bad lood and incite people to violence. They are man acting on the /licy of giving the dog a bad name and kill it. The National Confiance workers are resorting to suchtactics as All create disturnces in the State and thus strenthen the hands of Pakistan as wil be clear from the facts detailed below: making

specches, by the fact is that Mr. Motiram Baigreand, his companions are openly reaching violence. He delivered a speech at Rasi saying that pja Parishad people are murderers, dacoits and bea the character. They should be tied with roped, seriously bestern, made to sit on onkeys and then driven out to be drowned in the river Chenab et He preached violence and excited the public, but the Praja Pashad people kept their heads cool and behaved nicely and saved the situation which otherwise would have become serious. The fact we brought to your notice at that very time and twice after that a ell. But no notice has been taken of this inlammatory speech

The incident of Sudhmahadev in Chaneni Illaga, Listrict, Udhar, has already been brought to your kind notice. The meeting orgized by Praja Parishad was disturbed with the help of a Police of ir. A batch offifty people armed with axes and lathies raised and splogans, terrorised the audience and abused the workers and fe upon them mercilessly. As a result them of two persons were usly beaten. The Sub Inspector on spot and the Superintendent colice Udhampur did not entertain the written report of the victor injuries. The Deputy Commissioner also remained lukewarm and ok no notice of these facts when brought to his notice. The victors had to be removed to Jammu Hospital for dressing etc.

On the other hand efforts are being made to involve our

## Jammu & Hashmir Praja Parishad जम्मू—कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद



(Central Office Jammu)

/. No ........ Dated......

and members who try to protect everybody and even shed their blood to defend them.

- 4. To condemn the unlawful action of the Goondes at Sudh Mahadev, the people of Udhampur observed complete hartal spontaneously to express their resentmentat these inhuman and barbarious acts of the anti-national and anti-social elements. But the National Conference and the Kashmir Government took exception to it. They are against the people expressing their feelings and condemning such fue unjust, barbarous and inhuman acts, because the perpetrators belong to its group and that of Mr. Baigra. On the other hand, the people were victimized by cancelling the permit of some cloth dealers with a view to frighten, suppress and discourage the public. Similarly permits of four dealers of Samba have been cancelled as a result of hartal observe ed to pretest against the arrest of Th. Reghunath Singh Samyal. These are clear instances of suppression and harasment.
- 5. The shopkerpers whose licences and permits have been cancelled, approached the District Supply Officer, Udhampur, and requested him to tell the grounds upon which their permits were cancelled. He to that he was helpless and that he had been verbally ordered by Ali (Depyty Commissioner Udhampur) that licences and permits of all praja parished dealers should be cancelled. When the dealers requested the District Supply Officer to furnish a copy of the orders in order that they might lodge an appeal, the District Supply Officer insulted and turned them out of his room.
  - 6. Mr. Aga Nasir Ali, Deputy Commissioner, Udhampur, in a speech at village Jib In Udhampur District preached violence and exhorted the audience to receive the Praja Parishad people with lathies and ropes so that they might not dare again to enter their village.
  - 7. On 8th Jeth 2088, pandit premnath Dogra, president, praja parishad, want on tour to poni, where a public meeting was held at night. As a result of his visit to the place two Zaildars and two Nambardarshave been suspended on the grounds that they took part in giving reception to Pandit Premnath Dogra. The ground is absolutely false because no such reception could be held at all at 9 in the night the time of his arrival in the town. It may be brought to your notice that this is not the first instance of this kind. This has become a practice to harass and troublethe persons who take part in Pandit Jee's reception or attend our meetings. This is a travesty of democracy as in its practice here, the aggressor is encouraged and the aggrieved is victimized exactly as the U.N.O. is doing in the
  - 9. On 12th Har 2008, S. Budh Singh, and Hon ble Girdharilal Dograment to Hiranagar for election propaganda. Failing to get a good audience, they arranged at Cinema Showat night through the State Publicity Department. During the show, Mr. Lalman, a Patwari at Hiranagar, shipseted stood up and began to deliver a speech which was full of malicious propaganda against Praja Parishad. Mr. Javala

Kashmir dispute.

### Jammu & Haskmir Praja Parishad जम्मू–कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद



(Central Office Jammu)

-4-

Dated ....

Prakash, a Vakil of Hiranagar, objected to this on the ground that he is an official and his position does not allow him to say anyth against or in favour of any political party. At this the said pat vari raised a slogan " Sher-i-Duggar Murdabad". The public left the place. The Police Sub Inspector arrested Mr. Jawalaprakash along with Mr. Devkinandan our workder at Hiranagar. Next day both of twere produced before the court under Section 151/107.

All these facts confirm the doubts and fears that the Government's efforts are directed against the Praja Parishad and that the Government will not allow fair and impartial elections. The Praja Parishad on the hand is endeavouring to maintain law and order in full appreciation of the critical situation and with a view to disallusion the Security Council that the elections in the State can be conducted fairly and impartially. I am afraid that it this propercial process harasment and arrests ais not put a stop to, the chances of healthy and peaceful atmosphere would be lessened and free and fair elections would not be possible.

yours faithfully,

(Durga lass Varma)
(String lass Varma)
(Durga lass

Hon'ble Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammed,
Deputy Prime Minister,
Jammu & Kashmir Government,
Srinagar (Kashmir).

# amv & Hashmir Praja Parishad जम्मू-कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jammu)

Dated .....

As regards Eastern Constituency (Hilly tract), it may be ef. N submitted that according to the Settlement Authorities this Hilly tract is composed of three Zails of Jammu Tehsil, namely Satweri, Saroinsar and Magrota. All these zails have complete Patwar direies within them. It is a fallacious argument that Satwari Zail is out by a wedge of Samba Tehsil. To meet this so-called argument of the Fation al Conference, Praja Parishad will have no objection if Patwar Circle of Aitham with a population of about four thousand is added to this tract to keep the integrity of Jammu Tehsil and an area contiguous to Samba or R.S. Pura having an equal population to that of Aithem Patwar is added to either of those Tehsils. Moreover if this tract had been considered as wedge according to new invention of the National Conferonce, the Settlement Authorities would never have made these Patwer .

Circles a part of Jammu Tehsil.

The remaining Patwar circles below the Tawi river and contiguous ous to R. S. Pura consisting of Patwar Circles Thub, Sum, Mandal, Rathee, Sharan and Schanjana with a population of about 8, 56 can be easily joined with R.S. Pura which the people of this area also eagerly want. It is not upto the Secretary of the Mational Conference alone to select desired Patwars of Kandi and Ancharwah neglecting totally the natural division of the territory of Tawi River. It is also diffcult for a candidate of the Bastern Constituency to manage all the polling areas ranging from Ranjan right up to Sagoun a distance of about 50 miles having no easy means of communications, if these are joined together according to the proposal of the National Conference. It is also difficult for a candidate of this Eastern Constituency to properly manage the different polling stations in Potwer Circles below Tawi River which are also separated interalia by different streems of the Tawi River. The Members of the Committee being on the spot they can well enquire the views of the people of this Illaga who have moved the Proja Parishad for the formation of these Constitutencies, as suggested above.

It may also be submitted that Magreta and most of the hilly areas are connected by B.C.Road straight with Satwari, which makes it more feasible to join this eree-with-Setwert hilly area with

Praja Parishad is strongly opposed to the idea of a Satuari Patwar Circles. special constituency in a demogratic set up, but it views with grave concern the anouncement of the Chairman of the Committee that the large number of the Refugees unfortunately left out in the provisional rolls cannot be taken into consideration. State subjects and entitled to this most valuable right may be as allowed to vote in those very Court terlescy tanno College by the continued to vote in those very Court terlescy tanno College by the continued to vote in those very Court terlescy tanno College by the continued to vote in those very Court terlescy tanno College by the continued to vote in those very Court terlescy tanno College by the continued to vote in those very Court terlescy tanno College by the continued to vote in those very Court terlescy tanno Court terlescy to the continued to vote in those very Court terlescy tanno Court terlescy tanno Court terlescy terlescy tanno Court terlescy ter Oferughespreschtene-Backhede Patwars may be joined with the rest of the villages proposed to be joined with R.S.Pura. Durja Des Varma

Gulle core of addition of his refugue Strength, youl

GENERAL secretary, All Jammi & Kashmir Praja Parishad, Jammu.

#### Jammu & Hashmir Praja Parishad जन्मू—कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

( Central Office Jammu )

Ref. No ...... Dated......

According to settlement authorities this-Note:hillytract is composed of three Zails of James Tehsil, namely Satwari Zail, Saroinsar and Magrota. All these zails have complete Patwar circles within them. It is fallicious argument that Satwari Zail is cut by a wedge of Samaba Tehsil. To meet this so called argument of the National Conference Paraja Parishad will have no objection if Patwar circle of Atham with a population of about four thousand is added to this tract to keep the integrity of Jammu Tehsil and an carea contiguous to Samba or R.S. Pura having an eaqual population to that of Athan Patwer is added to either of those Tehsils. Moreover if this tract had been considered as wedge according to newly invented of Mational conference the settlement authorities would never have made these Patwar circles a part of Jammu Tehsil.

The remaining Datwer circles below the Tawi
river and contiguous to R.S. Pura consisting of Patwer Circle
es Thub, Sum, Mandal, Rathoa, Sharan and Schanjana with a
population of about can be easily joined with
R.S. Pura which the people of this area also eagerly went.
It is not up to the Secretary of the National Conference
alone to select desired Patwers of Kandi and Andharwah
neglecting totaly the natural division of the teritory of
Tawi River. It is also difficult for a candidate of the
Eastern Constituency to manage all the polling areas

#### Jammu & Hashmir Praja Parishad जम्मू–कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

(Central Office Jammu)

Ref. No .....

Dated .....

According to Settlement authorities this Note:hilly tract is composed of three Zails of Jammu Tehsil, namely Satwari Zail, Saroinsar and Nagrota. All these zails have complete Patwar circles within them. It is a fallicious argument that Satwari Zail is cut by a wedge of Sampba Tehsil. To meet this so called argument of the National Conference, Paraja Parishad will have no objection if Patwar circle of Atham with a population of about four thousand is added to this tract to keep the integrity of Jammu Tehsil and an garea contiguous to Samba or R.S. Pura having an eaqual population to that of Atham Patwar is added to either of those Tehsils. Moreover if this tract had been considered as wedge according to new inventor of National conference the settlement authorities would never have made these Patwar circles a part of Jammu Tehsil.

The remaining patwar circles below the Tawi river and contiguous to R.S.Pura consisting of Patwar Circles es Thub, Sum, Mandal, Rathoa, Sharan and Sohanjana with a population of about 8,356 can be easily joined with R.S.Pura which the people of this area also eagerly want. It is not up to the Secretary of the National Conference alone to select desired Patwars of Kandi and Andharwah neglecting totally the natural division of the teritory of Tawi River. It is also difficult for a candidate of the Eastern Constituency to manage all the polling areas

## Jammu & Hashmir Praja Parishad जम्मू—कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

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ranging from Ranjan right up to Sagoun a distance of about 50 miles having no easy means of communications, aro join together according to the proposal of National Conference. It is also difficult for a candidate of this Eastern & Constituency to properly manage the diffirent polling Minite stations in Patwar circles below Tawi River which are also separated interalia by diffirent streams of Tawi river. The members of the Commissions being on the spot they can well enquire the views of this Ilaqa who have moved Praja Parished for the formation of the submitted Constituencies.

Paraja Parishad is strongly apposed to the idea of a special constituency in a democratic setup, but it views with grave concern the anouncement of the cahirmen of the with grave concern the large number of the Refugees unfortunate cormittee that the large number of the Refugees unfortunate cly laft out in the provisional roll cannot be taken into consideration. Tehy being the State Subject and entitle consideration. Tehy being the State Subject and entitle to this most valuable right they may be allo ed to vote in those very constituencies where they have settled for the present as has been done in R.S.Pura which we have heard just now.

GENERAL SECRETARY:
ALL JANTU AND KASHIR
DARATA PARISHAD? JOHNU

#### Jammo & Hashmir Praja Parishad जन्मू—कश्मीर प्रजापरिषद

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cost of breach of peace. This incident is not the first of its kind. Hany have occurred already and more are expected if the present state of affair is allowed to continue. It appears that the Hational Conference is bent upon disturbing the peace of the country and to create unpleasant seems with a view to terrorise Praja Parishad workers, Sympathisers and candidates and arrange to put them behind the bars. These presumptions have been confirmed by the arrest of two important figures of the Orhanization. The Raghunatheingh, retired farms Tehsildar and Jagat Ram Ary. As M.L.A. and Harijan leader. The former has been arrested under section 84(f) Defence Rules and the latter under Section 3 Public Security Act. These detentions at the advent of elections have caused a great resentment and haransment among the public, Hartale and protests meetings were held in a large scale in the State.

In these circumstances there are very few chances of the elections being fair and impartial. Praja Parishad is the only largest opposition nationalist party and it has decided to contest elections on promises of the Government that elections will be fair and impartial and that no undu coercion and barament will be tolerated. But the tacties referred to above would compal it to raise a voice of protest which will not redound to the benefit of the State especially when U.N.O. Mediator is arriving be and also it would be suicidal both from the internal as well as international points of views.

The Praja Parishad therefore requests that such incidents may not be permitted to happen, and an impartial attitude of the Government may maintained in respect of all parties in the interest of internal law and order as well as in the interest of fair and impartial elections, so the the outside nations which are hostile towards India and Kaskmir, and the are broadcasting at the top of their voice that fair and impartial plebs cite is impossible in your administration may feel disabused, and India Stand in the Security Council may be strengthened and supported ancher reputation may be raised in the eyes of the world at large, and the pakistan's case may not stand proved.

It is the duty of every Matienal of the State to suppor India's stand to the Security Council, and to give lie direct to the Pakistan and Angle-American block by maintaining complete impartiallity at the elections and maistaining perfect law and order. These things wings to the credit of your Government.

at the hands of the National Conference workers at a maxisudmahadev me be fairly tried and the officers who behaved in a most irresponsible on partial manner be properly dealt with and the decences aforementioned by released.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Sheikh Hohd Abdullah All James & Kashmir Praja Parteliad.

Hon'ble Prime Minister,
J & K Govtt: Grinegar.